SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP AMONG PROTESTANT AMERICAN CONGREGATIONS: THE ROLE, THEOLOGY, MOTIVATIONS, AND EXPERIENCES OF LAY AND CLERGY LEADERS

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DEDICATION

To my parents, Steve and Barbara Austin, who taught me to believe in my dreams and without whose support and encouragement *nothing* would have been possible.

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Shortly before I began at Indiana University, a wise friend advised me that a Ph.D. is not only an academic degree but also a social degree. She said, “You cannot do it alone. This is not a solitary journey. To reach the finish line, you must have friends.” I will forever be indebted to the village of advisors, mentors, friends, and confidants who have taken me under their wings and helped me along my way. I could not have done it without you. I must begin by acknowledging the guidance, support, and friendship of the chair of my dissertation committee, the Karen Lake Buttrey Director of the Lake Institute on Faith & Giving, Dr. David P. King. His excellent scholarship is only surpassed by his heart for students. David, you are like a family member to me. I also thank the members of my dissertation committee who have consulted with me on every stage of research and writing, Dr. Eugene Tempel, Dr. Brian Steensland, and Dr. Dwight Burlingame. Thank you for sharing your valuable time, expertise, and skillful insight.

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Thad S. Austin

SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP AMONG PROTESTANT AMERICAN CONGREGATIONS: THE ROLE, THEOLOGY, MOTIVATIONS, AND EXPERIENCES OF LAY AND CLERGY LEADERS

This qualitative dissertation contributes to the nascent literature on the study of social enterprise in American congregations through an examination of the role, theology, motivations, and experiences of Protestant Christian social entrepreneurs who are pursuing (or have pursued) social entrepreneurship in the congregational setting. These religious leaders engage the free market by establishing social ventures such as hotels, thrift stores, community development corporations, restaurants, retail outlets, publishing companies, and landscaping businesses among others. Drawing on forty-four in-depth, semi-structured interviews with lay and clergy leaders representing a diverse sample of twenty-six American congregations from four Protestant traditions and six geographic regions, this dissertation asks: Who are these congregational social entrepreneurs (their role and their theology)? Why do they engage in congregational social entrepreneurship (motivations)? And how do they go about establishing social ventures (experiences)?

This study provides scholars and practitioners insights into the identity, motivations, and experiences of American religious leaders who are pioneering an emerging form of religious practice that blurs the distinction between the pastor and parishioner, the sacred and secular, and the instrumental and expressive. This dissertation offers contributions to both theory and practice. Instead of conceptualizing "social entrepreneurship" and "values and faith" as separate categories (as in prior research), this dissertation introduces a new theoretical paradigm with an intersecting model of

instrumental and expressive rationales for nonprofit institutions. Transcending otherwise clearly defined boundaries, the study's findings speak to the flexibility of social entrepreneurship to conform to the values of its leadership and the pervasive and permeating reach of faith within the context of human endeavor. Additionally, this research offers a constructive understanding of the role, theological tenets, and practical experiences of lay and clergy leaders.

David P. King, Ph.D., Chair

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LIST OF COMMONLY USED TERMS

Denominational Leader: A denominational representative with oversight of a group of congregations, including a congregation with a social enterprise. Depending on the denominational tradition, these persons may have titles such as Bishops, District Superintendents, District Supervisor, and Ministry Supervisors, among others.

Clergy Leader: A clergy leader of the congregational social enterprise.

Congregational Leaders: Both lay and clergy leaders of the congregational social enterprise. Used, especially, when referring to multiple persons from my sample.

Congregational Member: A lay member of a congregation. Typically, this person does not serve in a leadership capacity.

Lay Leader: A non-clergy (lay) leader of the congregational social enterprise. Rarely, but at times, a member of the congregational staff.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Martha is a lay leader in her mainline, Protestant, suburban congregation. As part of her congregational leadership, Martha oversees her congregation's fair-trade retail store selling handmade items from global artisans. When the idea for the store was first introduced to the congregation's membership, some members fiercely challenged the idea of having a "business" in their house of worship. Nevertheless, the fair-trade store was established and is currently undergoing a major renovation so that it might be moved to a more prominent location within the church's facility. When finished, the store will have its own exterior entrance for the community.

Ben is a clergy leader in a conservative protestant denomination with a passion for reaching his community. A few years ago, Ben asked one of his closest lay friends to move across the country to help him start a new congregation. Instead of planting a typical "church," Ben and his congregation's lay leadership opened a restaurant (with a full bar), a child care facility, and a ballroom that Ben hopes is used more often by the community than the congregation.

Norma is a lay leader of a liberal protestant congregation in the heart of a major American metropolis. Much of the congregation's large, historic facility goes unused throughout the week. Currently, Norma is partnering with her clergy leader to convert the congregation's basement into a coffee shop that will offer Christian hospitality throughout the week to those in the community.

These Protestant Christian social entrepreneurs have worked with their lay or clergy counterparts to establish social enterprises within their faith communities for the

purpose of seeking social justice, reaching the community, or expressing new forms of "sanctuary" for those in their area. This qualitative dissertation contributes to the nascent literature on the study of social enterprise in American congregations through an examination of the role, theology, motivations, and experiences of Protestant Christian social entrepreneurs who are pursuing (or have pursued) social entrepreneurship in the congregational setting.

The term "congregation" refers to a local house of worship. Per Chaves (2009), a congregation is a:

> social institution in which individuals who are not all religious specialists gather in physical proximity to one another, frequently and at regularly scheduled intervals, for activities and events with explicitly religious content and purpose, and in which there is continuity over time in the individuals who gather, the location of the gathering, and the nature of the activities and events at each gathering (pp. 1-2).

Social entrepreneurship may be understood as developing "innovative solutions to complex and persistent social issues by applying traditional business and market-oriented models" (Zahra, Gedajlovic, Neubaum, & Shulman, 2009, p. 520). Accordingly, the term "congregational social enterprise" refers to a specific congregational venture in which social entrepreneurship occurs, and a congregational social entrepreneur—the primary unit of analysis for this study—refers to an individual (lay or clergy) providing leadership for the social enterprise within the congregation. The main research question of this study is: How do Protestant Christian social entrepreneurs describe the meanings and experiences of social entrepreneurship within the congregational setting? Sub-questions include:

1) **Who** are these Protestant Christian social entrepreneurs?

2) **Why** do these Protestant Christian social entrepreneurs engage in social entrepreneurship? And

3) **How** do these Protestant Christian social entrepreneurs describe their practical experiences?

LITERATURE REVIEW

As has been established, social entrepreneurship refers to the practice of developing "innovative solutions to complex and persistent social issues by applying traditional business and market-oriented models" (Zahra et al., 2009, p. 520). Although scholars coined the phrase "social entrepreneurship" in recent decades, the practice is centuries-old. Greg Dees (1998b) and Eleanor Shaw (2004) have noted that socially conscious individuals have long leveraged the power of innovation and/or business principles in service of social missions. The term *entrepreneur* derives from the French *entreprendre*—literally meaning "one who undertakes" ("Entrepreneur," n.d.).[1] French economist Jean-Baptiste Say first used the term entrepreneur in its modern sense to describe an individual who increases economic productivity by redirecting limited resources (Drucker, 2014, p. 25).

Although he did not explicitly use the term social entrepreneurship, Howard R. Bowen (1953) gave the first modern expression of social responsibility in the business setting (See Bielefeld, 2007, p. 116). Then, beginning in the late 1970's and early 1980's, Bill Drayton popularized the concept of social entrepreneurship through the establishment of a nonprofit known as "Ashoka" (Bornstein, 2007, pp. 11–12). Ashoka,

[1] Between the 1500s and the 1700s, the term entrepreneur described those who served the French military as explorers and civil engineers (Tan, Williams, & Tan, 2005).

an Indian term meaning "the active absence of sorrow," identifies and supports individuals with creative solutions for social improvement ("Ashoka's History," n.d.). Eventually, Greg Dees established the field of social entrepreneurship as an academic discipline (e.g. Dees, 1994, 1996, 1998a, 1998b; Dees & Elias, 1998; See: L. G. Jones, 2016).

Despite its long history, the theoretical field of social entrepreneurship remains in a relative state of "adolescence" (Light, 2006, p. 14). Without a "tidy" conceptual framework (Peredo & McLean, 2006, p. 64), scholars debate social entrepreneurship's definitional boundaries (Light, 2006, p. 14). Dees and Anderson (2006) have identified two major streams of thought within the social entrepreneurship literature—the "social innovation" stream and the "social enterprise" stream. First, the social innovation literature broadly refers to social entrepreneurship as the introduction of new forms of technology, public policy, community development, and social movements. Definitions within this stream of literature emphasize the *goal* of social entrepreneurship as:

a. Creating social value (Dees, 1998a; Fowler, 2000; Fuqua Business School, 2017; MacMillan, 2005; Mair & Marti, 2006; Peredo & McLean, 2006; Shaw, 2004; Tan, Williams, & Tan, 2005),
b. Achieving social justice and/or solving social problems (Alvord, Brown, & Letts, 2004; Drayton, 2002; Leadbetter, 1997; Light, 2006; R. L. Martin & Osberg, 2007; Schwab Foundation, 2017; Skoll Centre for Social Entrepreneurship, 2017; Thake & Zadek, 1997), and/or
c. Generally bringing about change and innovation (Brinkerhoff, 2001; Dees, 1998a; Harding, 2004).

Second, the social enterprise literature has focused on activities—typically (but not exclusively) in the nonprofit sector—with earned business income. In this way, scholars have identified social entrepreneurship by highlighting *non-traditional business activities* typically pursued by organizations in other sectors [i.e. for-profit business ventures pursued by nonprofit organizations (Skloot, 1983; Leadbetter, 1997; Lurtz & Kreutzer, 2017) and social service ventures pursued by for-profit firms (see Dees & Anderson, 2006; Norris, 1983; Salamon, 2012, p. 75; Worthy, 1987)]. For the purpose of this study, I have chosen to employ Zahra et al.'s (2009) definition of social entrepreneurship as the definition incorporates both the social innovation and social enterprise streams of thought.

The intermingling of business and religion is not new, especially in the American context. Capitalism and corporate American have undoubtedly had an influence on Protestant Christianity (e.g. Gloege, 2015; Grem, 2016; Kruse, 2015). Max (2012) has demonstrated the power that religious ideals, specifically the Protestant work ethic, have had on economic systems through the birth of the industrial revolution and western forms of capitalism. Although Protestant American congregations have been a major driver of social innovation and a supporter of the free market, these economic influences have mostly been reserved for personal ambition and not for ecclesial advancement.

Although people of faith have created new organizations to advance religious and social purposes (e.g. hospitals, hotels, missions; see L. G. Jones, 2016), these social enterprise have tended to be developed outside of the congregational setting through

parachurch organizations.[2] We may define parachurch organizations as faith-based agencies working beyond congregations and across denominational lines.[3] As Eskridge and Noll (2000) explain, parachurch organizations are "the result of risk-taking, entrepreneurial visionaries [who are] unwilling to wait for slower denominational machinery to act [and who seek] to save, heal, or disciple people in fresh ways" (p. 384). Therefore, some of the most creative, vigorous, and visionary Protestant Christian leaders in America have focused their efforts on establishing social institutions outside of local congregations and traditional denominational structures (Eskridge & Noll, 2000, p. 33).

Leaders of these parachurch organizations have been more likely to adopt business practices than congregational leaders (Eskridge & Noll, 2000, p. 112).[4] Not bound to a single congregation or denomination, the largest parachurch organizations have used their resources to diversify their ministries and thereby "attract a broader spectrum of support" (Eskridge & Noll, 2000, p. 134). Recently, World Vision Germany developed a fair trade commercial concept to support ongoing operations (Lurtz & Kreutzer, 2017). In this way, parachurch agencies are much more willing to engage in entrepreneurial ventures, supplementing their charitable donations with commercial support (Eskridge & Noll, 2000, p. 114).

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[2] Greg Dees asserts that the rise in social entrepreneurship in business schools resulted from a decline in religious interest in social innovation within Churches (L. G. Jones, 2016).

[3] Typically, parachurch agencies occupy one of six categories: international missions, domestic evangelism, social services, media communications, and public affairs (Eskridge & Noll, 2000, p. 34).

[4] Because many parachurch organizations do not have a group of supporters who gather weekly and share the same geographic culture, they are much more vulnerable to a decline in giving than congregations. As a result, parachurch agencies are much more likely to innovate and adapt to changes in the market because they are not bound by denominational structures. For this reason, parachurch organizations have an "ethos of survival," like that of a for profit businesses (Eskridge & Noll, 2000, p. 37).

While congregations may not have had abundant financial resources, many (*not all*) congregations have enjoyed relative historic stability. As their survival has not been questioned, congregational leaders have been less likely than parachurch organizations to innovate or respond to market forces. Initially, in Colonial America, public taxes supported some congregations; however, the implementation of the constitution's establishment clause abolished state churches and eliminated the possibility of substantial or sustaining government support for faith communities (Esbeck, 2004; Hammack, 2002; McConnell, 2009; McGarvie, 2005; Olds, 1994). Since then, American congregations have generated the majority of their income through voluntary contributions. Church budgets have been supplemented by the sale of pews, fundraising banquets, bazaars, the rental of church property, and the sale of cemetery and columbarium lots among others (Chaves, 2009, p. 29; Hudnut-Beumler, 2007, pp. 161–162). However, these auxiliary ventures have not been intended to be a major, sustaining source of congregational income. Additionally, most of these fundraising efforts have focused on acquiring additional funds from members of the congregation (intrapreneurship) as opposed to engaging the free market (entrepreneurship; Parker, 2011).

The concept of earned revenue and profit would seem at odds with core beliefs of many Protestant congregational leaders. While the Judeo-Christian heritage deems the offering a sacred act,[5] historically, tension exists when religious institutions pursue profit

[5] The offering has been a sacred part of Judeo-Christian worship since the beginning of biblical history. Hurtado (1999) has noted the connection between sacrifice and worship of God (p. 24; See also Yerkes, 2010). In the opening pages of the Book of Genesis, tension emerges between Cain and his brother Able over of the quality of their respective offerings to God. Chapters later, Noah builds an altar after the great flood subsides and "offer[s] burnt-offerings" as worship for God's provision (*NRSV*, 1991 Genesis 4, 8:20). Moreover, God tests Abraham's faith by asking him to sacrifice his only son Isaac (*NRSV*, 1991 Genesis 22:1-19.). Over time and by divine order, the children of Israel developed an elaborate sacrificial system that mediated a person's relationship with God. In fact, Matthew Levering (2005) argues, "[W]orship . . . revolve[d] around the sacrifices. . ." (p. 43). Giving one's offering was considered a

or engage in commercial practices. As Volf (2016) writes, "[All world religions] underscore that the pursuit of worldly goods is often harmful to genuine flourishing as it empties life of deeper purposes" (pp. 170-71). In the New Testament, Jesus forcefully turns the tables of the temple moneychangers exclaiming, "Take these things out of here! Stop making my Father's house a market-place!" (*NRSV*, 1991, John 2:16). Translators of the Bible commonly term this section of John's Gospel the "cleansing" of the temple, an editorial comment suggesting that commercial practices blemish sacred spaces.[6] Therefore, the economic models that have generally sustained American Protestant congregations—voluntary tithes and offerings—have been deemed sacred, while innovative, free market practices have been considered more worldly and profane.

Two of the most vivid historical examples highlighting the tension between religion and commercial practices may be seen in 1) Martin Luther's criticisms of the Catholic Church and 2) the later formation of the Free Methodist denomination in America. In the 1500s, Luther objected to the Catholic Church's sale of indulgences. By purchasing an indulgence, the Catholic faithful were told that they could obtain God's forgiveness from their sins. Excoriating those who engage in this practice, Luther says, "Indulgences are the most impious frauds and impostors of the most rascally pontiffs, by

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necessary and central act of Jewish worship. It was sacred. Although Christians believe that Jesus' sacrifice removes the need for the sacrificial system, the New Testament continues to emphasize the concept of giving, especially offering one's finances and personal possessions. Throughout the Gospels, Jesus preaches about the relationship a person has to his or her possessions, encourages a rich young ruler to sell everything and give the proceeds to the poor, and highlights the offering of a widow who gave all she had (*NRSV*, 1991, Matthew 19:16-22, Luke 21:1-4). Later, the Apostle Paul appeals to readers in the Book of Romans to sacrifice all they have, indeed their very lives, as their act of "spiritual worship" (*NRSV*, 1991, Romans 12:1). As within the Jewish context, a person's offering is directly connected to the practice of worship.

[6] The practice of selling birds and small animals for the purpose of sacrifice was not, in and of itself, a prohibited or sacrilegious act. Rather, Jesus may have been reacting to the practice of usury and extortion by some of the merchants and perhaps the priests.

which they deceive the souls and destroy the good of the faithful" (qtd. in McClure, 2010, p. 273). Among his other complaints, Luther's *protest* of indulgences sparked the *Protestant* Reformation of which all the subjects of this dissertation are heirs.

More recently in the nineteenth century, the Methodist Church in North America ruptured over the selling of pews to the highest bidder. Justifying the formation of The *Free* Methodist Church, W. T. Hogue (1915) writes:

> [The Free Methodist Church does] not believe in resorting to worldly policy to sustain the Gospel. . . . To say that the Church cannot be sustained without these contrivances . . . is to confess that professing Christians are "lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God." It is to pronounce Christianity a failure. . . . All . . . Churches are required to be as free as the grace they preach. . . . It has always been contrary to the economy of the Christian Church to build houses of worship with pews to rent. . . . It is a corruption of Christianity (pp. 9-10).

By engaging in the marketplace, Volf (2016) argues that faiths can be "twisted into . . . 'prosperity religions'— mere tools to achieve health, wealth, fertility, and prosperity" (p. 170).

Perhaps it is for this reason that clergy persons often disdain financial and business responsibilities (Conway, 1992, 2002). Almost thirty years ago, Haughey (1989) described as an "illness" the pervasive silence that financial matters provoke in people of faith. A more recent review of the literature suggests that the prognosis has not changed dramatically. Conway (2002) has written that clergy interviewed for his study "felt that . . . money is incompatible with pastoral ministry and antithetical to Christian spirituality" (p. 8). Also when interviewing clergy leaders, Smith, Emerson and Snell (2008) have discovered that the topic of finances produced feelings of "helplessness, annoyance, and aversion" (p. 103).

Although historically supporting the free market and the Protestant work ethic, Protestant congregational leaders tend to resist addressing business and financial matters in their own congregations. So, who are these Protestant leaders pushing against these established religious trends? How do they understand their role and think theologically? And what are their motivations and experiences? This dissertation will examine these questions through the eyes of lay and clergy Protestant social entrepreneurs.

The existing literature has often examined social entrepreneurship through an investigation of top-level management or leaders (Covin & Slevin, 1989; Rauch, Wiklund, Lumpkin, & Frese, 2009). Consistent with other studies finding clergy to be reliable key informants (Pearce II, Fritz, & Davis, 2010; Seidler, 1974), this dissertation examines how Protestant social entrepreneurs—both lay and clergy—express the meanings and experiences of entrepreneurial activity within the congregational setting. These clergy and laypersons have been chosen as the unit of analysis because they are the very actors responsible for their congregation's social enterprise and have intimate knowledge of its formation and ongoing operation. I am aware of no study that explores the views of lay and clergy religious leaders who pursue social entrepreneurship at the congregational level.

Placing the terms social and entrepreneur together reveals the "breakdown" in boundaries between the nonprofit and for-profit sectors (Dees & Anderson, 2006, p. 39; Ott & Dicke, 2012, p. 330). Social entrepreneurship blurs the distinction between these sectors by combining nonprofit and for-profit organizational logics and structures (Edwards, 2013, p. 81). Like those in business, social entrepreneurs are those who are creative, optimistic, and comfortable with risk. Like nonprofit professionals, they are

communitarian and values based (Edwards, 2013, p. 81). As a result, social entrepreneurship has been referred to as the bridge "between enterprise and benevolence" (Tan et al., 2005) and, within the nonprofit context, as “the more business-like part of the third sector” (Spear, Cornforth, & Aiken, 2009, p. 252). As this dissertation unfolds, the reader will see the unique way that congregational social entrepreneurs embody this overlapping and often blurred identity in the congregational setting. I find that through the establishment of congregational social enterprise, a unique relationship forms as lay leaders take on roles and responsibilities typically associated with clergy leaders and clergy leaders take on roles and responsibilities typically associated with lay leaders.

Power is less concentrated and often more ambiguous within the nonprofit setting. Lumpkin et al. (2013) and Spear et al. (2009) have noted that unlike commercial enterprises with a dominant external stakeholder (e.g. shareholders), social enterprises must navigate a complex web of multiple stakeholders including donors, clients, and members. Similarly, as in the larger nonprofit universe, congregations may sense the need to satisfy the desires of denominational authorities, lay persons, members of governing boards, clergy persons, and ultimately God.

Within the nonprofit context, Lumpkin et al. (2013) have explained that the presence of multiple stakeholders elevates “nonlinear interdependencies” above the actions of a single actor. This prior nonprofit research underscores the importance of examining topics from the point of view of multiple stakeholders. Like many nonprofits, congregations are—by definition—communal environments. Decisions, actions, and initiatives that are pursued often involve multiple persons. Lay and clergy leaders provide management, direction, and vision. I find that congregational leaders tend to establish

“collaborative partnerships” when building and operating congregational social enterprises. Nonprofit and congregational leaders must create coalitions to be effective and successful. Within the course of my research, I have yet to find an example of a congregational social enterprise that does not rely on both clergy and lay members as essential leadership. In fact, my research reveals that social enterprises require the mutual support of mutual support of both these groups. As Schoenherr (1987) suggests clergy leaders provide "an important theoretical and methodological link between the key living beliefs and extant power structures of . . . churches" (p. 65). In that same vein, lay leaders do also.

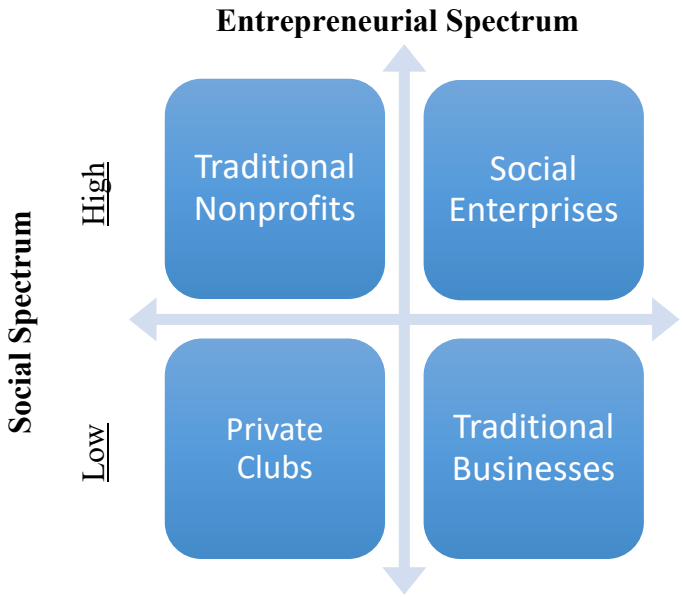
The literature makes a clear distinction between nonprofit and for-profit entrepreneurship (Lurtz & Kreutzer, 2017). While traditional understandings of for-profit entrepreneurship focus only on the financial bottom line, nonprofit entrepreneurship must balance financial need with mission fulfillment and stakeholder satisfaction, commonly referred to as a double or triple bottom line (Spear et al., 2009). For this reason, a different set of objectives and goals governs social enterprises when compared to commercial enterprises (Murphy & Coombes, 2009). Commercial entrepreneurship focuses on the individual (consumer desires, owner profit, and individual business expansion), while social entrepreneurship advances a collective, social good (J. Austin, Stevenson, & Wei-Skillern, 2006; G. T. Lumpkin et al., 2013; Murphy & Coombes, 2009; Short, Moss, & Lumpkin, 2009). Within the Protestant congregational setting, lay and clergy leaders describe religious and theological motivations which further add texture and depth to this existing literature. Congregational social entrepreneurs not only

pursue social entrepreneurship for instrumental objectives but also for the expression of personal faith.

Peredo and McLean (2006) categorize social enterprises along two axes indicating how social and how entrepreneurial a venture is (p. 57). I propose a conceptual framework for this spectrum in Figure 1.1. As opposed to traditional nonprofits, private clubs, and businesses, social entrepreneurship exists in the quadrant maximizing both social and entrepreneurial values. Spear et al. (2009) have indicated that social enterprises may be incorporated as companies, partnerships, or charities. For this reason, Dees (1998a), Zahra et al. (2009), and J. Austin, Stevenson, & Wei-Skillern (2006) have described an entrepreneurial spectrum with those motivated by profit on one end and those motivated by a specific cause or issue on the other. Far from a dichotomous model, social entrepreneurs may operate within the tension of these two extremes as either nonprofits, for-profits, or hybrid institutions (Murphy & Coombes, 2009).

The introduction of social entrepreneurship within the nonprofit setting can cause competing institutional logics to emerge (Lurtz & Kreutzer, 2017). Drucker (1989) has explained that many nonprofits avoid commercial activity because of the common understanding that commercialism will "taint" their underlying work (p.89). Dees (1998a) has referred to these instances as the "cultural conflicts" of nonprofits exploring earned revenue streams, especially if staff are not trained in matters of business (p. 66). In the congregational setting, the reader will find that many lay and clergy leaders describe instances where significant objections to congregational social enterprise emerge from the congregation's membership. As a result, congregational social entrepreneurs must reconcile the concepts of ministry, theology, and earned revenue.

Figure 1.1: Nonprofit Social Enterprises on the Entrepreneurial vs. Social Spectrum, Peredo and McLean (2006)



Based upon the interviews conducted for this study, I propose a theology of congregational social entrepreneurship that speaks to the way this reconciliation happens in a practical setting. Murphy and Coombes (2009) have indicated that the diverse stakeholders of a social enterprise tend to share a common belief in a particular social value. This social value may most readily be present within the organization's underlying mission, or in the case of my study, the congregational leader's theological and/or missiological tradition. Protestant lay and clergy leaders are often bound to stated theological and/or biblical tenets that govern their normative behavior and ideas. This dissertation will unpack these theological perspectives suggesting that there may often be a causal connection between the theological orientation of the lay or clergy leader and the social enterprise that develops out of the congregation.

Despite competing institutional logics, Drucker (1989) has suggested that because raising voluntary donations proves difficult many third sector organizations will pursue

socially entrepreneurial, for-profit enterprises to stabilize their income stream and thereby stabilize their ongoing operations.[7] Scheitle (2010) explains that commercial activity is becoming more important in the nonprofit world because commercial practices yield more stable revenue streams than relying solely on voluntary donations (pp. 94-96). Similarly, Dees (1998a) has written:

> Faced with rising costs, more competition for fewer donations and grants, and increased rivalry from for-profit companies entering the social sector, nonprofits are turning to the for-profit world to leverage or replace their traditional sources of funding (p. 55).

Most nonprofits find an inverse relationship between voluntary donations and the degree of social entrepreneurship present within a nonprofit (Dees, 1998a, p. 60).

The greater the social enterprise the less the organization will rely on philanthropy. So, are congregational leaders pursuing social enterprise to help stabilize their operations much like their nonprofit counterparts?

Organizational theorist Gareth Morgan (2006) has written, "In times of change it is possible to look at almost any industry and find once successful firms struggling to survive" (p. 209). Many national surveys have indicated that the number of Americans who claim no religious affiliation has increased dramatically in the past decade (e.g. Lipka, 2015; Hout & Smith, 2015; Kosmin, Keysar, Cragun, & Navarro-Rivera, 2009). Disaffiliation impacts financing within America's approximately 300,000 congregations (Chaves, 2009, p. 3). Religious institutions, congregations especially, are no exception.

[7] Dees (1998a) also suggests that another reason for the pursuit of social enterprise in the third sector may be because social entrepreneurship has become more acceptable (p. 55).

As one might expect, religious affiliation is a key factor in religious giving.[8] The likelihood of donating to religious causes, including houses of worship, increases dramatically among those who affiliate with a religious body (Beldad, Gosselt, Hegner, & Leushuis, 2015; Choi & Dinitto, 2012; Choi & Kim, 2011; Hodgkinson & Weitzman, 1996; P. M. Rooney, 2010; Wang & Graddy, 2008; Wilhelm, Rooney, & Tempel, 2007).[9]

The patterns of donations to American congregations reflect changes in the religious affiliations of Americans. Although *Giving USA* has reported that individuals give more to religion than any other nonprofit subsector, the overall proportion of giving to religion has been shrinking for more than two decades (Lilly Family School of Philanthropy, 2016). According to a *Faith Communities Today* report, the median budget of U.S. congregations declined almost seventeen percent (from $150,000 to $125,000) between 2010 and 2015 (Roozen, 2016, p. 8). Twenty percent of congregations reported a decline in offerings in 2015 when compared to 2014, and only forty-one percent of congregations reported growth in their offerings during the same period (LifeWay Research, 2016).

Although Americans donated a staggering $127.37 billion to congregations in 2017 (Lilly Family School of Philanthropy, 2018), a recent analysis of the Philanthropy Panel Study reveals that this total amount is being given by fewer people than in years past (P. Rooney, King, Wang, & Austin, 2016). In other words, the faithful who remain

[8] Religious giving is narrowly defined as giving to agencies such as houses of worship, TV & Radio Ministries. This definition is consistent with other scholarly work (Chaves, 1999; Wilhelm, Rooney, & Tempel, 2007; Lilly Family School of Philanthropy, 2017).

[9] While it is possible to give to a congregation without engaging in a community, most individuals who give to religious organizations maintain some level of contact with other members of the congregation (Choi & Kim, 2011).

affiliated with congregations are "making up the difference" left by those who have disaffiliated. Since most American Judeo-Christian houses of worship (including Protestant congregations) rely on their members to support and sustain the work of their congregations (Arjannikova, 2013, p. 22; Chaves, 1999), an economic pattern in which fewer and fewer individuals contribute at increasing rates is unsustainable. By one estimate, individual donations account for ninety percent of a congregational income (Chaves, 2009, p. 36).[10] These findings—combined with the existing literature on social entrepreneurship as a model for alternative revenue—may lead the reader to suspect that congregational leaders pursue social enterprise primarily as a way to supplement a congregation's income and sustain its operations.

However, many of the lay and clergy leaders interviewed for this study do not indicate that their pursuit of social enterprise is primarily or exclusively designed to supplement or replace declining voluntary donations or to stabilize their congregation's operations. Furthermore, many lay and clergy leaders are uncomfortable with the congregational social enterprise becoming profitable. The reader will discover that many lay and clergy leaders disclose that their congregational social enterprises are not in fact cash flow positive or even financially sustainable without the voluntary donations of members of the congregation. As many of the congregational social enterprises represented by this study must be supplemented by voluntary donations from the

[10] By comparison, voluntary donations account for 12.3 percent of revenue among all nonprofit organizations (Wilsker & Young, 2010, p. 194; Wing, Pollak, & Blackwood, 2008, pp. 143–144). Earned revenue streams (e.g. fee for service) provided by individual or government sources account for 70.3 percent of income. Government grants total 9.0 percent, investments 5.4 percent, and other income 2.9 percent of revenue.

congregation's membership, this dissertation challenges the existing nonprofit literature that suggests an increase in social enterprise relates to a decrease in voluntary donations (Dees, 1998a). In the cases represented by this research (where the social enterprise operations are not cash flow positive), an increase in social enterprise may in fact require: 1) more—not less—in voluntary donations from the congregation's membership, or 2) a reallocation of the organization's limited budgeted funds.

While a limited number of congregational social entrepreneurs have pursued social enterprise to gain access to financial capital, the vast majority are driven by religious and missional concerns. This aversion to financial sustainability suggests that the efforts of congregational social entrepreneurs are more related to the underlying religious mission of the congregation when compared to mere institutional survival or financial gain (e.g. resource dependency theory; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). This dissertation will demonstrate that lay and clergy social entrepreneurs are mainly driven by a combination of expressive and instrumental motives deeply connected to their faith and the religious mission of the congregation.

SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH

In their "Research Agenda Regarding Public Policy for Nonprofits," members of the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action (ARNOVA) have expressed "strong convictions" regarding the need for research to help the field better understand the financing of American third sector and the impact that these different funding models have on nonprofits (Jeavons, 2010, p. 2). Specifically, ARNOVA is interested: in 1) how the "form and composition of funding for nonprofits [has] changed overtime," and 2) how "funding for the nonprofit sector changes by field"

and within individual sectors (p. 2-b). This study attempts to answer these questions through the eyes of lay and clergy congregational social entrepreneurs.

American congregations are vitally important to the American philanthropic sector. Chaves (2009) says that "no voluntary or cultural institution in American society gathers more people more regularly than religious congregations" (p. 1). Despite the fact that congregations receive the lion's share of charitable giving in America (Lilly Family School of Philanthropy, 2018),[11] have a tradition of serving the most vulnerable within society, and are prominent in almost every area of the country, surprisingly little research has been conducted regarding houses of worship as centers of social entrepreneurship. While established theories of for-profit entrepreneurship and social enterprise have been defined in the literature (e.g. Andersén, Ljungkvist, & Svensson, 2015; Bielefeld, 2007; Bornstein & Davis, 2010; R. L. Martin & Osberg, 2015; Uncapher, 2013), these concepts have seldom been applied to nonprofits. Lurtz & Kreutzer (2017) have observed the "relative paucity" of research regarding social entrepreneurship within the third sector (p. 96).

Not surprisingly given this observation, almost no research has been conducted regarding congregations as centers of social entrepreneurship. Certainly, within the leadership literature, religion has been studied in the realm of business ethics and workplace spirituality (e.g. Angelidis & Ibrahim, 2004), but even these topics are often omitted from major journals (Tracey, 2012). Tracey has hypothesized that this lack of

[11] Furthermore, religious individuals underwrite a large share of the philanthropic sector and tend to be significantly more generous with their financial resources than those without a religious affiliation (T. Austin, 2017). Self-identified religious individuals give the majority of charitable donations in America (Schnable, 2015).

engagement may result from the sensitive nature of religion and/or because scholars have more often examined for-profit commercial enterprises. Additionally, a lack of research may result from the difficultly associated with studying American houses of worship when compared to other nonprofit subsectors. Beyond the difficulty of gaining access to these institutions, little aggregated data is publicly available regarding congregations (Chaves, 2002). Most congregations are not required to file 990's with the Internal Revenue Service. In fact, while estimates exist, no one is really sure how many total congregations exist in the United States. Describing what he calls "Government shyness" (p. 1542), Chaves (2002) has found that government sources of information regarding religious institutions has become weaker with time.

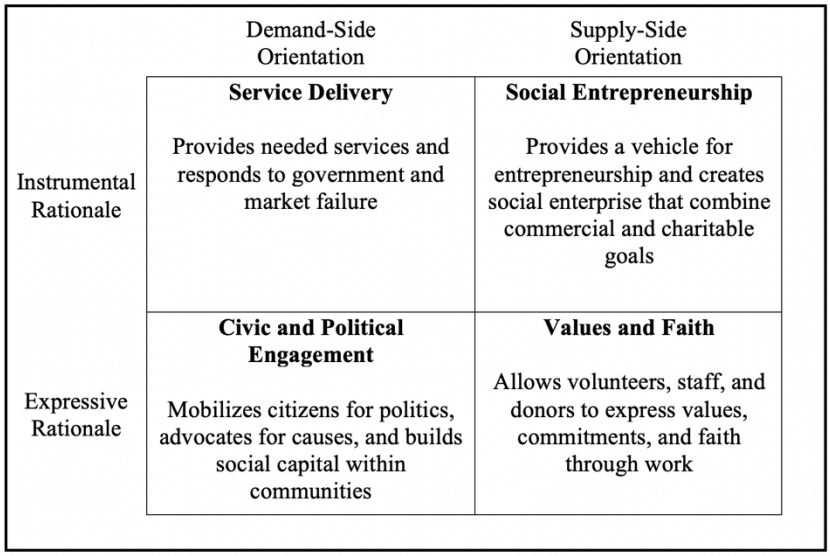
Werber et al. (2014) have studied the efforts of congregations to address health needs through social entrepreneurship. However, their research concerned the ways in which houses of worship support existing social entrepreneurs instead of starting new enterprises of their own at the congregational level. Pearce II et al. (2010) have studied the impact of entrepreneurial tendencies among religious leaders on congregational performance measures such as attendance and contribution patterns. Their work, however, does not examine congregational leaders who are engaging in social entrepreneurship. My literature review reveals only two studies of social entrepreneurship (by the same author) applied—in part—to congregations specifically (La Barbera, 1991, 1992).[12] La Barbera's research investigated the commercial enterprises of 105 religious organizations (such as hospitals, publishing companies, universities, evangelistic

[12] Oduor (2012) studied Catholic social enterprises in Nairobi; however, these were not associated with local congregations. Instead, the social enterprises were based at the diocese level.

organizations, social service nonprofits, and congregations) in the 1980s. However, La Barbera presented her results in aggregate and offered no discussion of congregational enterprises exclusively. Therefore, this dissertation examines new ground through an examination of congregations as centers for social entrepreneurship.

Beyond the exploration of a new field of academic study, however, the significance of this dissertation is related to its findings. By placing my findings in line with the existing literature, I propose a conceptual model of nonprofit activity. Frumkin (2002) has proposed a unified theory of the third sector (Figure 1.2) with social enterprises as supply-driven vehicles that help nonprofits achieve instrumental ends. While there are merits to Frumkin's (2002) framework, this dissertation will demonstrate a more complex understanding of nonprofit social enterprises within the congregational setting. I find that the motivations detailed by congregational leaders for social enterprise not only include the instrumental rationale that Frumkin (2002) proposes but also an expressive, faith-based rationale as well ("instrumentally expressive"). In this way, the reader will understand a more complex, highly integrated, and overlapping structure of not only nonprofit social enterprise but also the nonprofit sector as a whole.

Figure 1.2: The Four Functions of Nonprofit and Voluntary Action, (Frumkin, 2002)



THE APPROACH

Due to the nature of this study's overarching question, qualitative methods are most appropriate (Creswell, 2014). This study employs a form of qualitative research with an interdisciplinary approach and limited sample size. Like O'Brien (2007), my goal is to seek depth through an:

> interpretive examination of material from interviews, observation, and other forms of human interaction. Results are judged not for their broad generalizability or empirical verification but through criteria such as integrity, authenticity . . . , rigor, utility, vitality, aesthetics, and ethics (p. 214).

Because my literature review has not revealed another study focusing on congregational social entrepreneurs or congregations as centers for social enterprise, this dissertation is an exploratory study. My hope is that this research will provoke further, deeper, and more generalizable inquiry into this emerging sociological phenomenon.

In the sections that follow, I describe this study's approach, the role of the researcher, and data collection procedures. Unlike quantitative research, qualitative

research has been shown to be particularly useful in exploring social phenomena, including the meanings individuals ascribe to events and activities (Esterberg, 2002, p. 2). Qualitative methods often require researchers to collect data from the setting in which the data naturally exists, mainly through face-to-face interaction and site visits (Creswell, 2014; Patton, 2002). A reflexive process, qualitative research necessitates that the researcher serve as a key instrument of the research process by receiving, integrating, and making sense of accounts from the individuals, locations, and documents that are studied (Creswell, 2014). As a result, qualitative researchers must disclose the ways in which their findings are enhanced, changed, or potentially biased by the researcher's own background and presence. Unlike quantitative methods, which use and test a fixed methodology, qualitative research employs an emergent design that develops over the course of data collection and interpretation (Creswell, 2014). The researcher learns from the data with which he or she interacts. Although the researcher begins with a standardized set of questions, the study's research questions may evolve, forms of data acquisition may change, and the target participants may shift given the researcher's interaction with the data (Creswell, 2014).

With an emphasis on participant experience (Esterberg, 2002), qualitative design is most suited for this study which aims to discover and describe the experiences of religious leaders and the meaning ascribed to the activity by leaders in the congregational setting. Following Neuman (2003), I accept that individuals make sense of experiences through a process of meaning production (p. 16). Kvale (2007) has found that semi-structured interviews provide rich insight into the world of those interviewed, especially with regard to "interpreting the meaning of the described phenomenon" (p. 8). Typically,

qualitative research employs a deductive design allowing meaning and theory to emerge from the data. As Creswell (2014) has stated, "Qualitative researchers build their patterns, categories, and themes from the bottom up by organizing the data into increasingly more abstract units of information" (p. 186). The primary focus of a qualitative design is to discover the meanings participants ascribe to the topic in question. While established theories of entrepreneurship and social enterprise have been defined in the literature (e.g. Andersén et al., 2015; Bielefeld, 2007; Bornstein & Davis, 2010; R. L. Martin & Osberg, 2015; Uncapher, 2013), these concepts have not been applied to the congregational setting with regard to Protestant leaders who are pursuing social enterprises.

There are a variety of lenses through which to examine social entrepreneurial activities in order to conduct research (Ragin, 1994). I have intentionally chosen qualitative methods (and specifically grounded theory) for my research design because of its methodological explanatory power and the nature of my research as an emerging field of study. While I have been critical of my data, I have not been critical of my subjects. I encourage further research to take a more critical tone. However, throughout the research process leading to the writing of the dissertation I have sought to remain as close to my interviewees thoughts as expressed through their interviews as possible, using their own words and phrases when possible. Consistent with constructivist grounded theory (Mills, Bonner, & Francis, 2006), this interrelationship has allowed me to enter the world of my subjects, represent their views, and give them voice through a co-construction of meaning.

THE ROLE OF THE RESEARCHER

The role of the researcher is particularly important for qualitative studies (Creswell, 2014). My academic involvement with entrepreneurship in the congregational setting began in the spring of 2016. At that time, I was authoring the chapter on "Giving to Religion" for *Giving USA*. In my research for the chapter, I came across a series of articles highlighting specific congregations as models of entrepreneurial activity (e.g. Bird, 2014). I was impressed with the creativity employed in each of these settings and became curious about the leadership that made these endeavors possible. I became interested in exploring why the revenue generated through these social enterprises was excluded from *Giving USA's* estimate of charitable giving to religion. *Giving USA* only publishes findings on charitable donations that are *given* to (not earned by) nonprofits across all subsectors. I began to wonder about the prevalence of these forms of enterprises within faith communities.

Shortly after finishing the "Giving to Religion" chapter for *Giving USA*, I began working with Dr. David King, Karen Lake Buttery Director of Indiana University's Lake Institute on Faith and Giving, to propose a new national study of congregations with hopes of establishing an updated baseline estimate of American religious giving. Throughout this process, I found that other researchers and potential funders were not only interested in knowing a *numeric* estimate for the current state of religious giving but also desired our study to offer a more textured analysis—what Geertz (1994) would call "thick description"—of changes occurring within the financial practices of American congregations. Social enterprise occurring at the congregational level is one such

emerging paradigm that congregations are employing to meet their financial needs or to expand programing.

I must acknowledge my own experience as an ordained clergyperson in the United Methodist Church. By all accounts, I am an "insider" with regard to the study of congregations (Tedlock, 2011). I have been directly involved and connected to the work of congregations—as a layperson, a clergy person, and a staff member—for much of my life. My experience as a Protestant religious leader gives me special insight into the world of congregations. My role as an ordained clergy person gives me a unique legitimacy when interacting with other religious leaders and offers me unique access to persons and locations that might not be available to non-clergy researchers.

Educationally, I received my undergraduate degree in Bible and Theology before receiving a Master of Divinity from a theological seminary. While pursuing these two degrees, I worked part-time within local congregations as a youth minister, children's minister, and administrative assistant. Upon completion of my master's degree, I served as a pastor at a United Methodist congregation in Middle Tennessee for five years. My positions included serving the congregation as the Pastor of Congregational Care (two years) and Executive Pastor (three years). In the former position, I provided countless hours of pastoral care and counseling to members of my congregation and community. As a result, I am comfortable being one-on-one with individuals and having semi-structured conversations leading toward a specified outcome (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 28). In the later position, my responsibilities included leadership of the church's administration, human resources, and multi-million-dollar annual budget and endowment.

Although my experience with congregations is quite broad, I have had very little personal experience with social entrepreneurship at the congregational level. During my tenure as a pastor in Tennessee, I worked with a lay person to establish an annual craft fair for our community. This one-day event invited artisans to set up booths in the church's Family Life Center and sell holiday crafts. The craft fair raised approximately $3,000 for the church's ministries. This intrapreneurial endeavor, however, served more like a one-off fundraiser than an ongoing social enterprise.

Luker (2008) has held that all methods and data sources are limited. Because qualitative methods require a researcher to interpret the data, there is always an opportunity for bias. Specifically, Glesne and Peshkin (1992) have noted the risks involved when studying close connections through "backyard" research. For this reason, I have carefully chosen the site locations in this dissertation (process described below) from an array of denominational families, theological traditions, and geographic areas. Although some United Methodist congregations are a part of the study, many sites are not affiliated with the United Methodist Church.

Additionally, in the process of collecting and analyzing data, I intentionally attempted to limit my assumptions. For instance, I asked informants to clarify theological language, common jargon associated with congregations, and even words and phrases with which I am personally familiar from my past experiences. My goal was to ensure that the interviewee responses are both explicit and detailed. During the interviews, I intentionally withheld personal opinions in an effort to allow my participants to express themselves freely and without fear of judgment.

DATA COLLECTION

Using a qualitative approach, I have conducted forty-four in-depth, semi-structured interviews with Protestant clergy and lay leaders who are engaged (or have been engaged) in social enterprises in the congregational setting. Initially, I anticipated that the interviews would last between sixty and ninety minutes. However, through the course of my pilot project, I discovered that some participants were so eager to talk about their experiences that interviews could last up to three hours in length. When I offered to conclude the interview at ninety minutes, I found most participants excited to continue the conversation.

My goal in interviewing subjects has been to understand the meanings and experiences of Protestant Christian leaders pursuing social entrepreneurship in the congregational setting. I recorded each interview using digital technology and promptly transcribed each interview verbatim. Most interviews took place in person, although a limited number of interviews—because of distance and scheduling conflicts—were conducted over the phone or video chat. When conducted in person, the location of the interview was in a normal setting of the participants choosing (Creswell, 2014). Interviews were conducted one-on-one, although on rare occasions interviews were conducted with multiple persons. For instance, a lay leader that I interviewed felt that the perspective of her husband—who had also been involved in the social enterprise from the beginning—would elucidate additional and essential detail. As a result, she invited her husband to join the conversation after the interview had started. Although an exception from the general rule, joint interviews are consistent with qualitative methods, especially among married couples (Arksey, 1996).

For my research, I have drawn upon my training in qualitative studies at Indiana University. I have designed and tested the interview protocol to elicit narrative responses (Chase, 2011; Maynes, Pierce, & Laslett, 2012). The protocol (see Appendix C) intentionally begins with a very open-ended question. Following Corbin and Strauss (2008), I asked the interviewee to tell me the story of their social enterprise. While allowing the interviewee to guide the conversation, the semi-structured questions elicit responses related to the leader's motivations for the social enterprise (J. Austin et al., 2006), the leader's narrative account of the social enterprise in the context of their personal faith (Chase, 2011), the leader's role in the social enterprise (Stewart, Castrogiovanni, & Hudson, 2016), an entrepreneurial orientation that may be present within the leader (Short et al., 2009), and codes, metaphors, and meanings that govern how these Christian leaders talk about social entrepreneurship in the congregational setting (Tavory & Swidler, 2009).

To better understand my subjects, and following Chase (2011), I made site visits to each congregation, engaging in ethnographic observation of and participation in 1) regular activities of the congregation (such as worship or Bible study) and 2) the typical operations of the social enterprise. On average, these site visits lasted half a day or more. I kept detailed field notes of each site visit and took photographs and audio or video recordings to capture the setting of each location (Creswell, 2014). In this way, I engaged in "peripheral sampling" of each context (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 34).

SAMPLE AND STUDY PARTICIPANTS

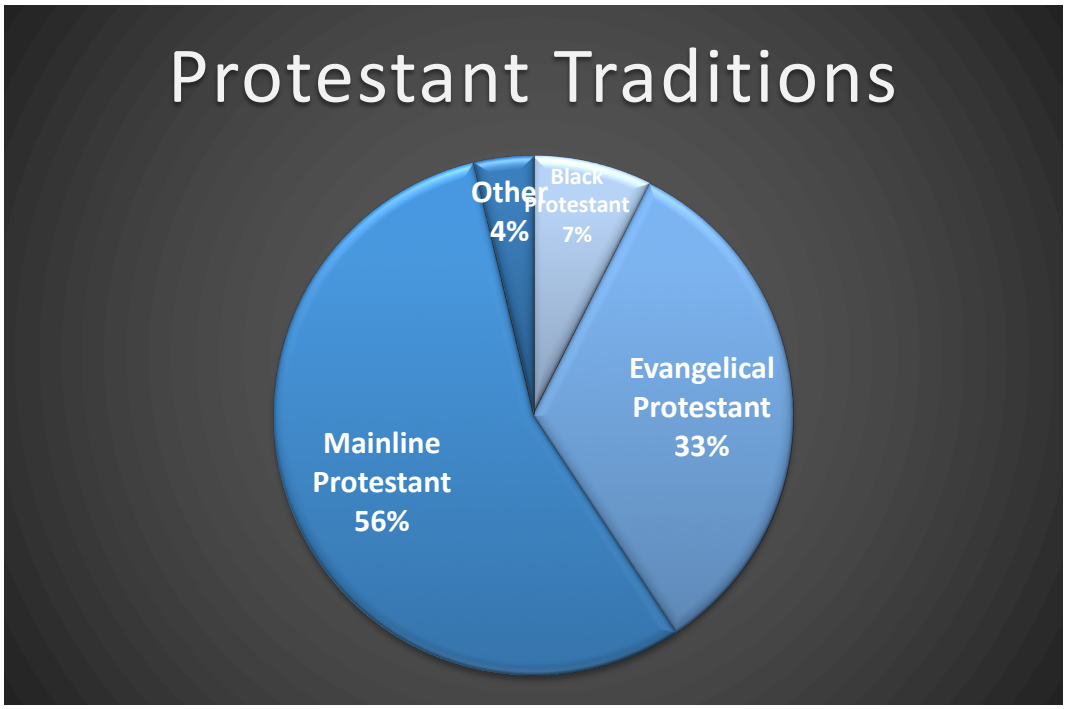
Miles and Huberman (1994) have indicated that four components must be disclosed in qualitative research: 1) the *setting* where the research is taking place, 2) the

actors who are interviewed, 3) the *events* observed, and 4) the unfolding *process* of events the actors undertake. The study's sample has been recruited from American Protestant congregations with entrepreneurial enterprises. Because case selection is so important to the study's overall conclusions (Miles & Huberman, 1994), the sites have been chosen intentionally through a form of purposeful, snowball sampling (Babbie, 2007). Sites have been identified through web searches, newspaper and professional articles, conversations with leading scholars and clergy leaders, and by asking those who are engaged in the practice of social entrepreneurship at the congregational level for further leads. Some of the leaders of the congregations selected for this study have published or have had articles written about their pursuits. In this way, some of the study's sample—although not all—are leading voices and thought leaders in this emerging movement. In consultation with each site location, I have intentionally selected the sample for a variety of geographic locations, demographic profiles, and denominational affiliations.

The first criteria for inclusion in the sample was that the social enterprise must be associated with a Protestant congregation. Social enterprises pursued by denominations, judicatories, parachurch agencies, and faith-based nonprofits (un-affiliated with congregations) were intentionally excluded. Congregations in which leaders pursue social entrepreneurship are chosen to represent a variety of:

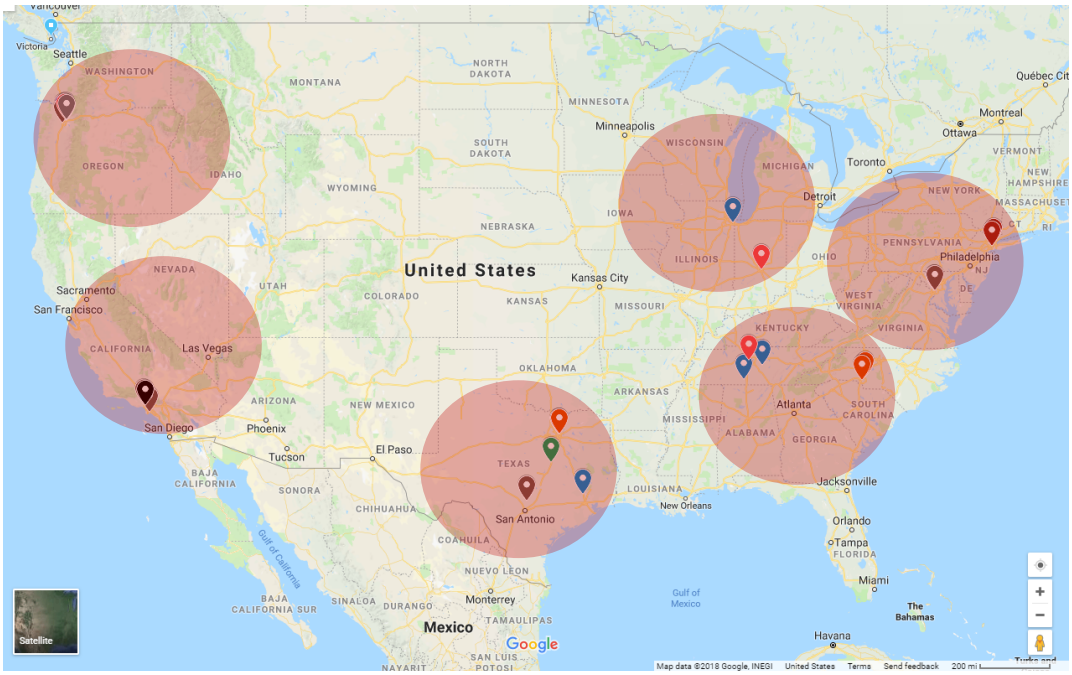
- **Major Protestant Traditions:** Black Protestant, Evangelical Protestant, Mainline Protestant, and other (Steensland et al., 2000)

Figure 1.3: Distribution of Study's Sample by Protestant Traditions



- **Racial compositions:** Black, white, and muti-ethnic;
- **Sizes**: Smallest 15 members, largest 3,000+ members;
- **Settings**: Urban, rural and suburban;
- **Geographical regions** Pacific North West, South West, South Central, Mid-West, South East, and North East, and Mid-Atlantic (Figure 1.4);

Figure 1.4: Site Locations by Geographic Distribution



- **Forms of income:** Active and passive;
- **Forms of incorporation:** For-profit and nonprofit;
- **Stages of development:** Social enterprise that are in the late stage of conceptual ideas, those that are operating, and those that have failed; and
- **Forms of social enterprise:** coffee shops, thrift stores, fair trade stores, pub/wine tasting venues, lawn care services, hotels, condos, community development corporations, mixed use facilities, co-working spaces, unique forms of paid parking, a book store, and a publishing company (Figure 1.6).

Figure 1.5: Site Locations by Regional Distribution

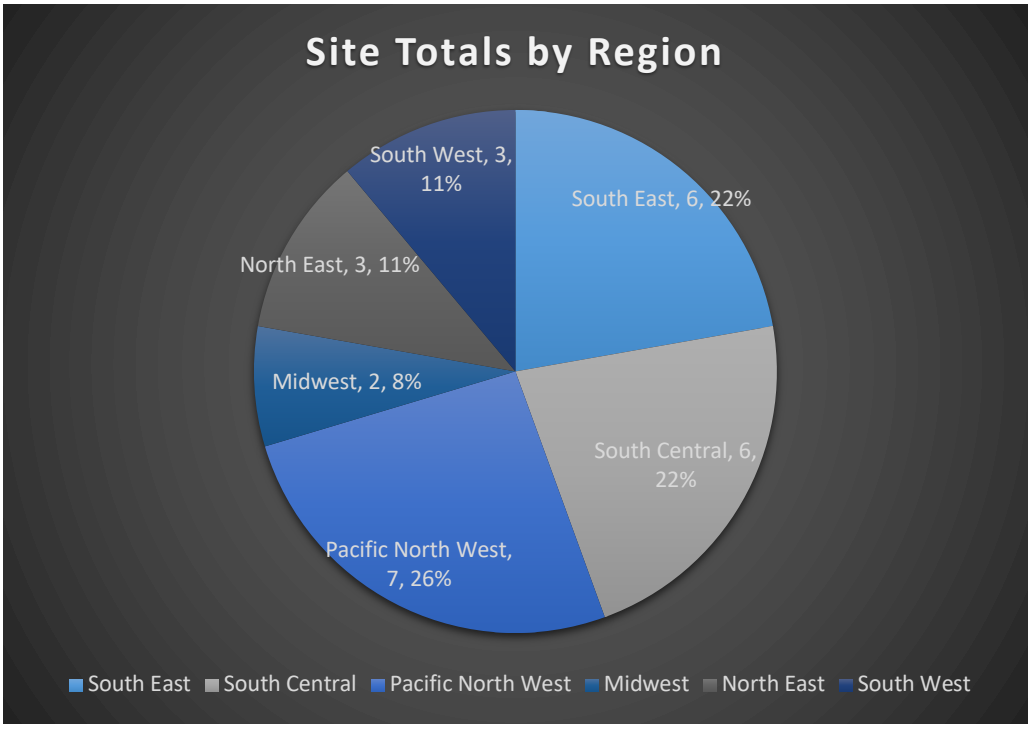
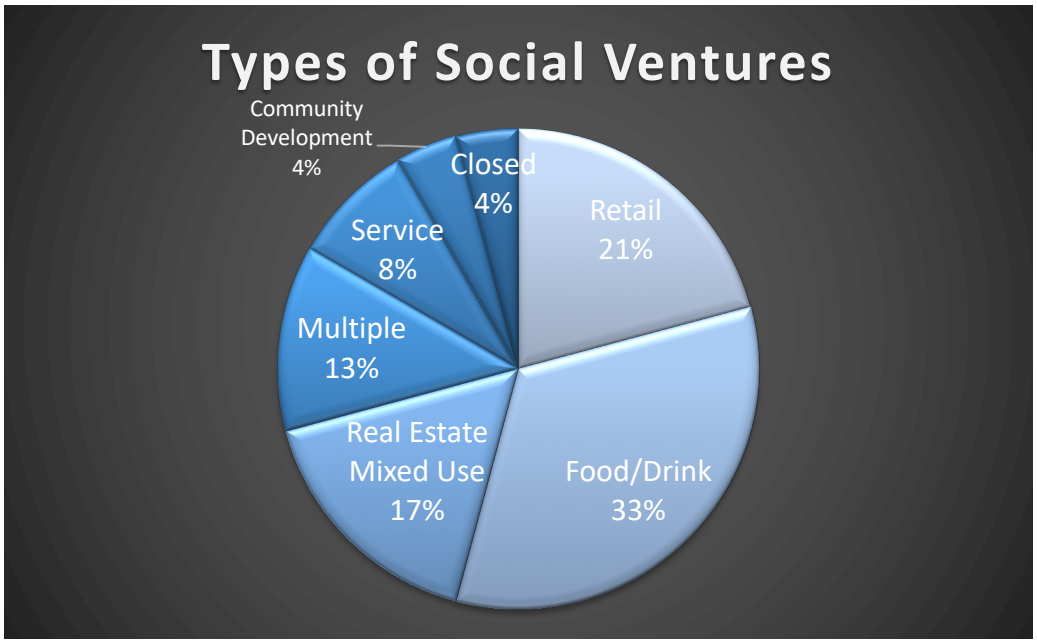


Figure 1.6: Distribution of Types of Social Ventures[13]



[13] In this figure, the term "closed" means no longer operational.

To be included in my sample, the social enterprise must have been ongoing (operating daily or at least weekly) as opposed to one-time or seasonal pursuits such as fundraisers, fall craft fairs, or Christmas bazars. Furthermore, I excluded social enterprises that have spiritual or educational formation as their primary or exclusive activity. I am interested in the areas of social entrepreneurship that engage the free market in ways that are not part of the congregation's normal spiritual activities. For this reason, I have excluded religious schools from my sample. While members of the congregation may benefit from or frequent the social enterprise, the venture must have been available to the general public. For instance, a coffee shop only open on Sunday immediately following the congregation's worship service for members of the church would not qualify. With this criterion, I distinguish between *intrapreneurship* and *entrepreneurship*.[14]

As with the site locations, key informants have also been chosen with care. Each participant was a consenting adult (18 or older) self-identified Protestant Christian leader who has engaged in social entrepreneurship at the congregational level. Exceeding Creswell's (2014) recommendation for grounded theory of between twenty and thirty total interviews (p. 189), I have conducted thirty-nine interviews with forty-four lay and clergy leaders. Total audio time is fifty-one and a half hours. As the interviews progressed, common themes emerged (Baker, Edwards, & Doidge, 2012), and saturation was reached when new data no longer offered additional insights (Creswell, 2014, p. 189). Consistent with other studies finding clergy to be reliable key informants (Pearce II

[14] While intrapreneurship focuses on raising funds from members of a given community, entrepreneurship engages the free market (Parker, 2011; Frumkin, 2002, pp. 131–132).

et al., 2010; Seidler, 1974), these interviews were typically conducted with a clergy person and a key lay leader.[15] As has been stated, most interviews lasted approximately an hour; however, some interviews lasted up to three hours at the discretion of the interviewee. Each interview concentrated on the interviewee's experience with social entrepreneurship in the congregational setting and the meanings the interviewee ascribed to his or her experiences.

In the spring and summer of 2017, I conducted a pilot study, initially focusing on leaders of a small and a medium congregation in the South Eastern United States. Both congregations employed the same type of social enterprise in their communities—a thrift store. I interviewed five persons total—two clergy and three laity—and visited each site location multiple times. During this period, I tested the interview protocol and used the interviews to inductively develop my major, overarching questions for the study. In the summer of 2017, I extended my pilot study by visiting other potential site locations and conducting initial interviews with other potential subjects (lay and clergy) in the South East, South Central, and Pacific Northwest regions. During the first half of 2018, I expanded my interviews and site visits to the other regions while also, on occasion, returning to previously visited locations.

DATA ANALYSIS

This study has employed both a deductive and inductive design. Initially, I established the interview protocol deductively through my review of the existing literature. However, I refined my interview protocol and developed my coding process

[15] Frumpkin (2002) notes that lay persons (i.e. non-professional volunteers) can constitute entrepreneurs (pp. 137-138).

using inductive methods. The analysis of the data has been based upon grounded theory techniques. Some theoretical concepts (such as role identity theory and entrepreneurial orientation) have been be brought to bear on data analysis to see the way in which the findings are consistent with prior research on similar subjects. Creswell (2014) has defined grounded theory as a multi-stage "design of inquiry . . . in which the researcher derives a general, abstract theory of a process, action, or interaction grounded in the views of participants" (p. 14). Grounded theory is particularly relevant to this research because of this study's emphasis on the experiences and perspectives of participants (Creswell, 2014, p. 75). Following Lather (1986), the data has been allowed to speak through a "reciprocal relationship" with theory (p. 267).

Corbin and Strauss (2008) have cautioned that the researcher may unintentionally "give meaning" to the text that the source did not intend (pp. 30-31). They have written, "[I]t is not the researcher's perception of an event that matters. . . . What is relevant is the meaning given to the [event] by the participant" (p. 33). As a result, careful attention has been paid to ensure that the data itself shapes the form of the analysis, with special attention given to the participants own experiences and language (Creswell, 2014, p. 75). I have approached the data with a continual willingness to be surprised by the findings.

To analyze the data, I have used a sophisticated computer program (ATLAS.ti). Coding is understood as a process of analyzing data whereby common themes, words, or participant experiences are assigned identifying words or phrases that correspond with similar data so that they may analyzed together (Creswell, 2014). In an effort to keep the analysis consistent with the interviews, I have used the participant's own words to code interviews when possible through a technique called "in vivo coding." In my pilot study,

I began by coding the first interview line-by-line staying as close to the data as possible. According to Miles and Huberman (1994) and Abbott (2004) researchers can reduce data by joining similar thoughts and separating distinct ideas. With successive interviews, I noticed patterns emerging across interviews and was able to "lump" (combine) and split similar and distinct codes. Based upon my pilot study, I was left with seven major codes, which became the general themes for this study. As qualitative method is an iterative, reflexive process, I began coding the interviews for this study with these major codes, remaining vigilant of new codes and themes that emerged with each successive interview (Creswell, 2014). I coded an initial twenty percent of the interviews looking for relevant themes corresponding to the basic themes of the study. This iterative process stabilized my coding schema. When I completed analysis of the initial twenty percent of my interviews, I coded fifty percent of my interviews (including re-coding the initial first twenty percent now that the codebook was stabilized), analyzed the content of these interviews, and wrote up my initial findings, being careful to note "hunches" I had about the data across interviews and from reading existing literature.

In addition to meeting with each member of my dissertation committee at each stage to discuss my preliminary findings, I presented my initial analysis at two academic conferences from different disciplinary traditions—the Association of Research for Nonprofit and Voluntary Action and the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion. Receiving feedback from members of my committee and members of the audience, I made revisions to my analysis, and presented these concepts to a sub-sample of the study's interviewees (five persons) to test my ideas and engage in dialogue about my

findings. Finally, I analyzed the second half of my data noting the ways that it challenged, confirmed, and expanded my initial findings.

ETHICAL AND TRUSTWORTHINESS ISSUES

Ethical integrity has been a paramount concern for this research project. Research questions were intentionally chosen to avoid having participants discuss harmful or painful experiences. Indiana University's Institutional Review Board has approved the full scope of this research as an expedited study (see Appendix A). Per university protocol, subjects were given general information on the nature of the study, including risks and benefits (see Appendix B). Interviewees participated in this study voluntarily. Before each interview was conducted, participants were informed that they could stop the interview at any time and were free to answer or not answer any question posed. To protect the identities of those who were interviewed and the congregations they represent, all transcripts were de-identified. Names of individuals, congregations, and locations have been replaced with pseudonyms. When possible, quotes appear as stated by the subjects. While retaining the initial meaning and intent, some quotes were modestly edited for clarity and readability.

Participating in this project, like participating in any research project, has inevitably sensitized participants to the phenomena that I, the researcher, am investigating (Gibson 2005; Maynes, Pierce, and Laslett 2008; Mishler 1986). For example, some participants undoubtedly introduced religious and spiritual content into their narrations in ways that might not have occurred without the sensitizing context. Even still, the aim for this study has been to analyze *how* participants describe their experiences of social entrepreneurship at the congregational level.

Trustworthiness of the study has been a paramount concern throughout the research process. For this reason and where possible, multiple interviews were conducted at each of the research locations. At significant moments in the interviews, I conducted member checks with my participants to ensure that I understood what the interviewees were communicating (Creswell, 2014). Additionally, I spent considerable time with participants in the setting of the social enterprise and congregational life. I toured the congregation's facilities and casually interact with church members and patrons, including attending worship services and Bible studies. Interview transcripts were checked twice for accuracy before being analyzed. When possible, I triangulated data across participants and congregations.

LIMITATIONS

Admittedly, this study's findings are limited. This project has only gained insight from select members of the congregation who have served in leadership positions by establishing entrepreneurial enterprise at the congregational level. This study, however, is more about the factors influencing individual Protestant leaders as opposed to a community level analysis. This qualitative study is not designed to draw exhaustive conclusions but instead to offer in-depth analysis. These congregational leaders provide a firm theoretical base by which the meanings and experiences of other Christian leaders (and other social enterprises) may be explored. Although the leaders selected to participate in this study represent a variety of geographic locations, theological traditions, types of social enterprises, congregational sizes, ages of the social enterprises, and degrees of success or failure of the social enterprise, the sample has not been randomly selected and is largely based upon convenience through snowball sampling (Babbie,

2007). While I have included some settings where a social enterprise has failed after launch, I have not been able to identify any setting where the initial proposal for a social enterprise has failed before launch (i.e. non-starters).

Although the sampling procedure is not systematically designed to identify factors that lead to success, my research notes patterns of leader experience apparent across congregational contexts. Through the experiences of my participants, I have listened for the factors that cultivate initial acceptance and later success. Through this process, I have generated well-informed ideas about Protestant leaders' motivations for social entrepreneurship, the theological rationale used to understand and justify the work, the role that these leaders occupy, the level of congregational and community support (or opposition) that is present, and the contextual factors that allow for risk, innovation, and proactiveness. I have also offered initial hypotheses about social entrepreneurship within congregations that I hope will encourage further scholarship and more systematic inquiry.

OVERVIEW

The study findings are presented in the following chapters. As has been established, this dissertation asks, "How do Protestant congregational social entrepreneurs describe the meanings and experiences of social entrepreneurship within the congregational setting?" In an effort to answer this overarching question, I explore three main areas of focus. First, I ask: **Who** are these Protestant congregational social entrepreneurs (examining their *role* [Chapter 1] and *theology* [Chapter 2])? Secondly, I ask: **Why** (Chapter 3) do Protestant Christian social entrepreneurs engage in social entrepreneurship? Here, my specific inquiry relates to the stated motivations that drive Protestant congregational social entrepreneurs to action (J. Austin et al., 2006; Spear,

2006)? Third, I ask: **How** (Chapter 4) do Protestant Christian social entrepreneurs describe their practical experiences? This final chapter of the dissertation is intended to serve as a practitioner (not academic) resource by summarizing the general process by which congregational leaders indicate that a congregational social enterprise is established. Finally, Chapter 5 includes the conclusions and recommendations.

Religious institutions and congregations in particular are ripe for study. In fact, Tracey (2012) notes the "immense potential for research" (p. 88). The benefit of using congregations as subjects of scholarly inquiry are many. Religious institutions have rich, "distinctive organizational designs," unique inter-organizational structures, and prevalence throughout society (p. 88). Many scholars have viewed the study of religious institutions as "trivial in modern, secular societies" (Chaves, 2002, p. 1546), and secularization theorists have predicted that religion would disappear in a modern, enlightened world (Berger, 1990). Yet, while many congregations are struggling, they have found ways to survive. Ammerman (2013) has noted that "religion has proven empirically resilient in the face of modernization" (p. 276).

Religious institutions have remarkable staying power compared to other organizations. Finding that more than fifty percent of Canadian congregations have been in existence for more than forty years, Quarter, et al. (2009) state, "Religious congregations have greater longevity than most forms of civil society organizations" (p. 189). Mintzberg and Westley (1992) have noted that one of the most interesting aspects of religious organizations is endurance across millennia of change. The authors write, "[W]hat distinguished the world religions is that they have found ways to sustain

themselves" in spite of oppositional and cultural forces (p. 52). This feature is not only true for religion broadly but also for congregations specifically.

During these tumultuous times, this study explores how congregational leaders innovate institutions for a new generation. One should not be entirely surprised that congregations are evolving, given the serious concerns of growing disaffiliation and financial instability. Yet, the evolution that is described in this dissertation does not take place primarily for financial stability or monetary accumulation. Instead, these congregational social entrepreneurs engage in social entrepreneurship to express their faith and share it with others.

CHAPTER 2

THE ROLE OF CONGREGATIONAL SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURS

James serves as a lay leader of a conservative and racially diverse congregation in the Western United States. A *Le Cordon Bleu* trained chef, James has been a pivotal figure in the establishment of his congregation's social enterprise—a restaurant. The restaurant is intentionally situated in a relatively high crime area and across from one of the roughest high schools in the city. In addition to cooking at the restaurant, James sponsors a club in the high school and offers after school cooking classes for at-risk youth. Both of these offerings incorporate elements of Christian discipleship and faith formation as part of the programs that James leads.

James sees a personal connection between his profession as a chef and the concept of ministry. Although he typically works in a kitchen, James sees himself as a lay minister of the gospel. Reflecting on the first time he heard the biblical story of the feeding of the 5,000 (Matthew 14:13-21), James remarks:

> I didn't know Jesus was a caterer! I can feed 100 people, and they are really happy after the meal. Their satisfaction spills over to me. So, imagine how Jesus feels when he did that for 5,000 people. He must have been the happiest person in the world! But Jesus not only gives physical food but spiritual food also. How important is it that we do the same!

Recently, James has begun speaking conferences and preaching in a variety of churches both domestically and internationally. Although he is not ordained, the role that James has begun to occupy has both pastoral and ministerial overtones. He sees his work as a "calling from God."

Samuel is a clergy leader of a large-membership, historically African-American congregation in the north eastern United States. Although part of a working-class congregation, Samuel's uncle—who was also a pastor at his congregation—took the bold step to purchase a large piece of depressed property at the center of the densely populated urban center in the 1980s. Today, the community has experienced an urban renaissance, and the congregation's property has appreciated in value considerably. Like his entrepreneurial, risk-taking uncle, Samuel has led many of the efforts in developing a portion of the congregation's property into a twenty-eight-story mixed-use development with almost two hundred rental apartments and condominiums.

In this role, Samuel has worked closely with city officials, developers, bankers, and geological surveyors among others. He describes the congregation's building project (and his role in it) as "kind of our Aquila and Priscilla story," a reference to two entrepreneurial business leaders mentioned in the New Testament who provided support for the ministry of the Apostle Paul (cf. Acts 18). Although a clergy leader, Samuel has spent countless hours in business meetings related to the congregation's social enterprise. While it is not unusual for clergy to be involved in the administration of their congregation or to provide leadership during a capital project, the scope, scale, and entrepreneurial nature of this project demand that Samuel take on a substantively different role than may otherwise be typically occupied by most "ministers." While a clergy leader, Samuel is also a business developer.

So, how do lay and clergy leaders understand their roles within the religious community in light of their involvement in congregational social enterprise? Furthermore, how do these roles—lay and clergy--intersect with one another? The

establishment of a congregational social enterprise requires congregational leaders to embrace unique roles within the congregation and to work in conjunction with their lay or clergy counterparts. I find that lay and clergy leaders assume distinctive, individual roles (often varying by context) during the establishment and operation of a congregational social enterprise. As leaders embrace these individual roles, they begin to assume other roles traditionally associated with their lay or clergy counterparts. Lay people take on a ministerial role, and clergy take on a business role.

The blurring of these identities leads to the establishment of a new, shared role that is embraced across all contexts, namely the role of "collaborative partner."[16] Historically, collaborative partnerships between lay and clergy leaders (what has been referred to in the literature as “shared jurisdiction”) produces friction and conflict, as roles and responsibilities overlap (Carroll, 1992, p. 289). These conflicts have been shown to be especially pronounced with regard to business matters. Nash and McLennan (2001) have noted “a pervasive spirit of ambivalence” among their lay and clergy respondents such that they “could not reconcile the concepts of business and ministry” (p. 157). They describe both clergy and laity as "categorically nihilist” when it comes to the intersection of business and ministry (p. 164).[17] However, my sample of congregational social entrepreneurs fully embrace the collaborative partnership that exists between their lay and clergy counterparts. I find that this collaborative partnership is both necessary for

[16] Speaking of the ideal, collaborative relationship between a nonprofit executive director and governing board, Drucker (1990) refers to a similar concept in the nonprofit sector as a “double-bridge team” (p. 10-ff).

[17] Nash and McLennan (2001) continue noting that seminarians became “angry and dismissive or retreated into highly abstract mental frameworks--anything to displace the notion of this person's business role affording an authentic source of identity, self-worth, or opportunity for living Christian values. . . . They could not withstand the pressure of trying to reconcile their negative views of business profit with their foundational views of Christianity" (p. 157).

the development of a congregational social enterprise and calls upon lay and clergy leaders (together) to become innovators, risk-takers, initiators, and instigators within their congregation.

To understand the role of congregational social entrepreneurs, one must probe the cognitive, cultural, and social-psychological perspectives of lay and clergy leaders. Personal identity is complex and multi-layered including not only one's gender, race, and age but also roles related to individual responsibilities (e.g. profession, parenting, caregiving), commitments (faith, political affiliation), and passions (hobbies and pastimes) (Dale, 2016, pp. 96, 115). Role identity theory is a middle-level social psychology theory demonstrating the relationship between a person's self-understanding and his or her interaction with the social environment. According to Pooler (2011), role identity theory "explains how people develop their sense of self" within the context of their work and social environment (pp. 707, 711).

The study of role identity theory has largely focused on how and why identities are formed, how they change with time, and the connection between identity salience and actions based on roles (Stryker & Burke, 2000, p. 287). Role identity theory is built upon the foundational work of McCall and Simmons (1978) who argued that the search for identity and meaning often leads individuals to categorize aspects of life through social positions and titles such as husband, Protestant, or reverend (McCall & Simmons, 1978, p. 63). These categorical identifications are indicators of one's social identity and are "cognitive schemas" helping an individual interpret his or her experiences through these given frameworks (Stryker & Burke, 2000, p. 286). In this way, roles form and define identity (Gadson, 2016, p. 24).

Role identity emphasizes the "characters" that people play and the connections between an individual's conception of their role and their actual behavior (Andriot & Owens, 2014; Stets & Burke, 2000). Role identity is the way a person imagines being and acting in a particular social position. Often, the way a person conceives of their role-identity is not an objective assessment but a subjective amalgamation of reality and personal idealized embellishment (McCall & Simmons, 1978, pp. 65–66). This "imaginative view" of the self gives meaning to life, impacts behavior, and helps the individual interpret what is encountered day-to-day (McCall & Simmons, 1978, p. 67). Accordingly, identity salience is the likelihood that an identity will be invoked across differing contexts (Stryker & Burke, 2000, p. 286). Greater identity salience increases the possibility that a person will make choices in line with their identity.

Although leadership has been studied frequently through the lens of *identity theory*, leadership has not been studied expansively through the lens of *role-identity theory* (Pearse & du Plessis, 2016, p. 3). Studies have focused on the development of group meaning structures and leadership roles (Riley & Burke, 1995), work leadership and identity-verification (Burke & Stets, 2009), and individual case studies of leadership (Pearse & du Plessis, 2016). Studies of congregational leadership and role-identity are even fewer. Most studies of congregational leadership focus on the clergy leader (e.g. Berquist, 2004; Burton & Weinrich, 1990; Gadson, 2016; Glover-Wetherington, 1996; Johnson, 1995; Nauta, 1996; Park, 2012; Pooler, 2011; Robinson, 2013). Fewer studies focus on lay leaders (e.g. Hahnenberg, 2003; O'Brien, 2007), and fewer still compare and contrast the roles of clergy and laity (Soto, 2015). Prior research has called for an examination of how clergy and lay leaders conceive of their roles (Carroll, 1992, p. 296).

However, my literature review reveals no study that examines role identity theory for lay and clergy congregational social entrepreneurs. Because leaders animate institutions and—in this case—congregational social enterprises, a leader's self-understanding and role situates the driving force for the congregational social enterprise in the context of the religious and social environment. The way that leaders understand their role and responsibilities provides insight into the core leadership of these institutions.

Leadership within American congregations has evolved with time as lay and clergy leaders have occupied different roles (Monahan, 1999; Robinson, 2013, p. vi). Congregational leadership in the mid-1800s emphasized the role of laity and egalitarian systems of governance. In the early 1900s, the role of clergy became more professionalized, and congregations began to employ a more centralized forms of governance (Monahan, 1999, p. 80). Since the mid-1900s, there has been a growing emphasis on lay leadership in congregations.[18] Although the locus of control has changed for the leadership of American congregations, there have historically been fairly defined roles in the congregational setting, especially for the role and duties of clergy leaders.[19] Carroll (1992) refers to these roles as "distinctive boundaries" distinguishing clergy and lay leaders, which include religious titles, education/training, consecration/ordination, religious clothing, and authority to preform sacramental acts. As Carroll (1992) says,

[18] For Protestant congregations the role of the laity has commonly been referred to as the "Priesthood of all believers," a hallmark Protestant doctrine maintained since the Reformation. This doctrine indicates that God calls all believers to ministry and Christian service, not just an ordained priesthood. For more information on the topic see Ferguson, Packer, and Wright (2000, p. 531) and Eastwood (2009). Carroll (1992) refers to this concept as "cultural egalitarianism" (p. 294).

[19] Chaves (1993) defines authority within religious communities as either traditional or charismatic. Traditional forms of leadership come as a result of the leader holding a bureaucratic office with historic religious significance (e.g. a bishop). Charismatic leadership results from personal authority, usually as a result of "a claim to special insight into matters religious" (Moses, Jesus, Mohammad; p. 157).

"These markers help to set clergy off from laity, define their relationships, and symbolize the authority that clergy have in the religious, if not the secular, sphere" (p. 290). Monahan (1999) describes three general roles within the congregation related to work and function: *clergy* jurisdiction, *lay* jurisdiction, and *shared* jurisdiction. In this chapter, I will explore each of these jurisdictions as they relate to the role of congregational social entrepreneurs.

Hahnenberg (2003) has demonstrated that in-depth, exploratory interviews—like the those employed for this study—can effectively reveal information related to the role and identity of congregational leadership (p. 215). To probe the roles of my respondents, I engaged a dual methodology. First, I asked each of my respondents directly to answer the questions, "How do you conceive of your role in this congregational social enterprise?" and "How does this role in this social enterprise relate to your professional identity?" Second, in coding my interview data, I looked for any instance in which my respondents described their roles without being directly prompted. Through this process, I found that there are roles that apply individually to either clergy leaders or lay leaders (clergy jurisdiction or lay jurisdiction) and a role that applies jointly to both groups (shared jurisdiction, or what I term "collaborative partnership").

My data suggest that there is not a single, unified role that clergy or lay leaders occupy across all congregations represented in this study.[20] The role that individual leaders play in their congregational social enterprise is contextual, a byproduct of

[20] It is possible that more salient roles may emerge by examining the leaders of congregational social enterprise within a single denomination, congregational size, theological tradition, racial category, or type of social venture. The diverse sample for this exploratory study may limit the salience of roles that otherwise would be observable.

personal interest, training, experience, and leadership philosophy as well as theological tradition, size of congregation, congregational staff structure, denominational polity, and type of social venture being pursued. As an example, the leadership role that is required to establish a coffee shop for a conservative, suburban megachurch with a congregational polity is vastly different than the leadership that is required for a small, liberal, urban congregation with a connectional/episcopal polity. As one clergy leader says, "I've probably taken more of a direct role than a lot of pastors would just because of the speed of this [venture's development]. These aren't things you can have ten people in the committee figure out." In this case, the clergy leader feels that the contextual demands of his congregation required him to take a much more active role than may be required in other settings. Therefore, the role that congregation leaders play is contextually determined. However, I have identified common themes related to the individual roles of congregational leaders, the merging of identities between lay and clergy leaders, and the shared role of collaborative partnership between lay and clergy leaders, which I will explore in the remainder of this chapter.

CLERGY JURISDICTION: THE GENERAL ROLE OF THE CLERGY LEADER

The existing literature suggests that clergy leaders may play a wide variety of roles (Robinson, 2013, p. vi). With the myriad of expectations that laity have for clergy, no consensus exists on the specific role that clergy leaders have in congregations. Eighty-five years ago, May (1934) wrote:

> What is the function of the minister in the modern community? The answer is that it is undefined. There is no agreement among denominational authorities, local officials, seminary professors, prominent lay [persons], ministers or educators as to what it should be (p. 385; qtd in Robinson, 2013, p. 1).

Twenty years later, H. Richard Niebur (1956) noted that this definitional problem persisted. Using the imagery of the armed forces, Niebur has described clergy leaders like soldiers who will never know the type of work that they will be required to perform or roles that they will occupy from day-to-day (p. 51). More recently, Stott (1994) has written, "One feature of the contemporary church is its uncertainty about the role of its professional ministers. Are pastors primarily social workers, psychiatrists, educators, facilitators, administrators, or what?" (p. 67). However, regardless of the expectations of their roles, clergy have been shown to feel pessimistic, unprepared, and ineffective when it comes to business matters (Nash & McLennan, 2001, p. 156). My data push against this established finding.

Role identity theory has shown that most persons define themselves not by a single role but by multiple roles (Dale, 2016, pp. 96, 115; Gadson, 2016, p. 24). These roles may mutually reinforce, interfere with, or be in conflict with one another (Pearse & du Plessis, 2016, p. 2; Stryker & Burke, 2000, p. 290). In this vein, one clergy leader describes her role in the coffee house her congregation established as that of a "pastorista." Explaining what she means by this term, this clergy leader says that she is "part pastor and part barista." This unique framing of her role indicates that this clergy leader brings together what would otherwise be two separate and distinct roles, one more commercially focused and the other more spiritually focused.[21] Through this designation, the clergy leader indicates that she understands her role as caring for people while

[21] While clergy have long occupied "business" roles within their congregations as they have provided administrative leadership to the ongoing operation of the faith community, the uniqueness of the role of congregational social entrepreneur is that it does not so much focus on the internal management of the congregation as it does the external management of a free market social enterprise. The engagement of commercial activity and business logics is something substantively different from the traditional roles that clergy typically occupy in American congregations.

ministering to them in the business setting. The combination of these distinct roles creates a new, unique identity that this clergy leader embodies in her work. While serving gourmet coffee, she engages in conversation with people from her congregation and those in her community. Describing her role, she says, “We want to know [people] on a deeper level." She sees these relationships as fundamental to her role and the making of coffee is the means to that end. In this way, clergy leaders are combining a business role with their traditional ministerial role.

The fact that this clergy leader is able to see the way that these two roles mutually reinforce each other leads her to feel a greater sense of salience about her role. Prior research has demonstrated that dense connections between related roles increase the likelihood that an individual will occupy the role (Stryker & Burke, 2000, p. 289). Prior research has also noted that role identities are found to be more legitimate if they are integrated and connected (McCall & Simmons, 1978, p. 92). As demonstrated by the experience of this clergy leader, issues of legitimacy may arise if there is a significant gap between identities and roles. The clergy leader describes her frustration when these two roles become imbalanced saying,

> [Recently], my role turned into being more barista than I really wanted it to be. And so, I was spending a lot of time making coffee when I don't think that was the best use of my gifts. . . .

Here, this clergy leader experiences frustration when her business role eclipses the role of her ministry. She desires to resolve these “multiple identities” as she finds that they compete with each other (Young, 2001, p. 142). She feels that the two should be interconnected, mutually reinforcing, and meaningful. It is not enough for her to only prepare a cup of coffee for her customers. The preparation of the coffee becomes a

platform for ministry. When properly balanced, this clergy leader sees her integrated role as an expression of Christian hospitality, love, and ultimately pastoral ministry.[22]

Not all roles must have equal value. The way that the clergy leader envisions the combination of his or her "pastoral" and "social enterprise" responsibilities largely determines the role that he or she plays in the social venture. In the case of the clergy leader who describes herself as a "pastorista," she sees these two roles mutually reinforcing each other and tries to achieve a proper balance between them. However, the role of "pastor" and "social entrepreneur" do not have to be balanced. As the social enterprise develops, some clergy leaders desire to be more or less involved in traditional ministries. As one clergy leader says:

> Now, I am preparing—actually interviewing—ministers to kind of take my place in that pastoral role, so that I can do more envisioning for the community and work even closer with the denomination to duplicate some of these [social enterprises].

By contrast, another clergy leader is shifting his role to more traditional ministries of the congregation. With the social enterprise now well-established and having hired a staff to manage the venture's operations, this clergy leader is actively decreasing his involvement in the social enterprise. He says, "Right now, I'm trying to work my way out of doing anything mainly except preaching and helping other churches outside of this one. We beefed up our staff in October." Therefore, the balance between the roles of clergy leader and social entrepreneur is one that is based upon personal preferences and contextual

[22] As another clergy leader says: "I told . . . a group of young students that are studying pastoral ministry . . . the other day that my favorite part of pastoring today is serving coffee. I actually get to tap your people better Monday through Friday than I do on Sunday. On Sunday, I get to preach at them. Monday through Friday, getting to know them, do life with them. . . . It's been transformational for me in that aspect."

demands. Another clergy leader reveals that the pastoral aspects of his ministry have actually suffered as a result of his involvement in social enterprise. He says:

> With people who are [congregational] social entrepreneurs you have to recognize that you have failures. And one of your failures is pastoral care. . . . I do love people quite a bit, but sometimes I'm just not thoughtful about: "I should go by the hospital." So, you have to kind of pull yourself up and care take your folks. And I guess everybody does that in a different way.

Regardless of the social venture's stage of development, all clergy leaders interviewed for this study indicate that they provide a degree of supervision for the social venture. Interestingly, in none of my cases was the clergy leader resistant to the idea of a congregational social enterprise or subversive to its implementation. This reality may be due to the limited nature of my sample. As I have previously indicated, I was not able to identify a congregation for my sample where a congregational social enterprise was proposed but was never implemented ("nonstarters"). Nevertheless, the fact that clergy leaders are supportive in each and every one of my cases may indicate how critical the role of clergy support is for the congregational social enterprise to develop.

At minimum, clergy leaders are passively supportive of the congregational social venture and willing to offer backing for its development and ongoing operations. These passive clergy leaders indicate spending minimal time focused on the social enterprise, preferring instead to "outsource" the work to a lay leader or other staff members. In these settings, clergy leaders tend to describe their role as that of a "cheerleader" or "encourager" and their work as one of the "things you have to do." Often the reason for this minimal engagement is either because of lack of interest, lack of time, or lack of

training/expertise.[23] However, this group of passively engaged clergy leaders constitutes a small minority when compared to my overall sample. Additionally, while a clergy leader's passive acceptance may be overlooked as insignificant, it is in fact critical. A clergy leader's support—even if in passive form—appears to be a necessary condition required for the establishment of a congregational social enterprise.

The vast majority of clergy leaders describe a much more active and engaged role with the social enterprise. For these leaders, the social venture occupies a major part of their work week, especially during the initial phase of development. What makes this finding so striking is that Conway (1992) records that clergy leaders are ill-equipped and "reluctant stewards" of financial and business matters for their congregation (p. 5).[24] Summarizing his study, Conway has written:

> [Pastors] have been taught to regard these [administrative, financial, and business] activities as somehow unworthy of the "higher calling" church leaders have received, and . . . most . . . would much prefer to let someone else handle any . . . financial dirty work that must be done in connection with [their] ministry (p. 5).

When Conway (2002) repeated the study ten years later, he found shockingly similar results. He has written, "[P]articipants felt that . . . money is incompatible with pastoral ministry and antithetical to Christian spirituality" (p. 8). Confirming these findings, Smith, Emerson and Snell (2008) discovered that the topic of finances produced feelings

[23] One lay leader remarks of his clergy leader, "She got reports back from us as I remember occasionally about how things are going. But she was not in the position. She was too busy anyway. But she wasn't in the position to be at the negotiations." Notice the lay leader's emphasis that the clergy leader's minimal engagement was determined by her lack of time.

[24] In a national survey of senior pastors representing nineteen Evangelical denominations, Grey Matter Research and Consulting (2015) found that eighty-one percent of respondents did not receive financial training as part of their education.

of "helplessness, annoyance, and aversion" in Christian clergy leaders (p. 103).[25] Prior research has also revealed that clergy are less likely to do administrative tasks (Monahan, 1999, p. 88). However, the vast majority of clergy leaders engaged in the work of congregational social enterprise have a substantially different orientation to matters of business, finances, and administration. In fact, many describe an overlapping understanding of their role as clergy and business leaders. These clergy leaders see business as a form of ministry and their role in the congregational social enterprise as integrating business and ministry logics.

The willingly active role that many clergy leaders take with regard to their congregational social enterprise may reflect the unique nature of congregational social entrepreneurs and the role that they play in their congregations. The salience of this overlapping ministry-business role may be demonstrated as clergy leaders often occupy a "visionary" role for the congregational social enterprise. In sixty percent of the congregations analyzed for this study, the initial idea for the social enterprise came from the congregation's clergy leader.[26] While the initial idea for the congregational social enterprise may come from the clergy leader, the social enterprise's ongoing operations are more commonly undertaken by lay leadership with clergy leaders providing supervision and support. Yet, some clergy leaders remain actively engaged. One clergy

[25] As evidence of this ongoing phenomenon, Lilly Endowment, Inc. awarded more than $28 million in 2015 to create The National Initiative to Address Economic Challenges Facing Pastoral Leaders (Cebula, 2015). This program seeks not only to improve the personal financial acumen of Christian leaders but also to provide training on fundraising as well.

[26] In thirty percent of the congregations studied, the idea for the social enterprise came from the congregation's lay leadership. In the remaining ten percent of congregations, the initial visionary for the social enterprise is indiscernible because of intrinsically connected roles between lay and clergy leaders or because of the historical nature of the social enterprise's founding. For instance, in one case, a congregation's social enterprise was established in the seventeen and early eighteenth centuries by an outside party.

leader describes his role as "more than a cheerleader. . . . I'm leading the church this direction." This clergy leader affirms a very active and engaged role with regard to his congregational social enterprise. He sees himself as the key person leading his church to become more entrepreneurial. Another clergy leader says:

> I always tried to go into a place over the years-wherever it has been-and try to take the vision and identity of the church that existed before I came. But in this case, I had to create a new vision and cast that [vision for social enterprise] out there and help others believe that it was possible.

Closely connected to the supervisory and visionary roles, many clergy leaders indicate that they safeguard the congregation and the congregation's social enterprise. One clergy leader describes his role as being "a protector of the ministry," while another clergy leader says, "My role is . . . overseeing the main vision, where are we going, keeping us on the main rails." In this way, the role of clergy leaders is to act like a "guardrail," ensuring the protection of the congregation and the congregational social enterprise. Part of this role involves the clergy leader keeping the congregation and its leadership focused on priorities or, as one clergy leader puts it, to "remind people why we're doing what we're doing." By grounding the congregation's business activity in an understanding of ministry (a theme to which this dissertation will return in subsequent chapters), clergy leaders integrate these identities.

In addition to balancing roles, supervising, and providing vision for the congregation, another particularly salient role described by clergy leaders is that of "neighborhood pastor." This role is an outward facing role fueled by missional passion. This role is more than that of a chaplain. Etymologically, the role of "pastor" evokes shepherding imagery, whereby the pastor cares for a defined "flock." However, as a "neighborhood pastor" clergy leaders care not only for those within the congregation but

also for the larger community surrounding the congregation as well. As a result, many clergy leaders in my study describe themselves as community developers and missionaries. Incarnational language is used when describing this role. For instance, one clergy leader says, “It's my role now to perpetuate the gospel in this world of non-faith.” Another clergy leader says:

> I feel like my role is to be involved in all of these spaces and, even if I'm not the driving force behind stuff, that I'm physically there helping to create a scarlet thread that runs through it, some continuity in all of those things. I feel if I'm praying with somebody or having a beer with my neighbor, I feel like I'm doing my job like I'm fulfilling my role. If I walk down the street and I waved at three neighbors and they waved to me, I feel like I'm doing my job.

Neighborhood pastors value being present at events and involved in people’s lives. They focus on developing relationships and improving their communities.[27] The business opportunities provided by the congregational social enterprise becomes the platform making these exchanges possible. As the clergy leader interacts with the community, an integration occurs between the roles of business and ministry. In this way, clergy leaders take on a “business” role that is more typically assumed by lay leaders.

LAITY JURISDICTION: THE GENERAL ROLE OF THE LAY LEADER

Possibly because there is more variety in what it means to be a “lay leader” in a congregation, substantially less academic literature focuses on lay leadership when compared to clergy leadership. In contrast to clergy leaders, lay leaders do not have a set standard of education, religious experience or practice, or employment responsibilities.

[27] Some clergy leaders develop relationships explicitly intending to proselytize individuals, while others build relationships without any intention of direct proselytization. As one clergy leader says, “We're hanging out with people. We're not proselytizing them. We're being friends with them, and in that, I feel like I'm doing my job.”

While some Protestant denominations require congregations to have a set committee structure for laity, others have no set standard of lay leadership roles. Furthermore, certain religious traditions may have restrictions on who can serve in lay leadership and for how long. In some traditions, women, for instance, may not be permitted to serve in leadership while in other traditions women are openly encouraged to serve.

Regardless of its form, lay leadership has increased as a feature of congregational leadership. Noting a global trend, O'Brien (2007) has discussed a dramatic increase in the level of lay leadership within congregations as lay leaders take on roles of increasingly significant position and responsibility. Monahan (1999) has referred to this form of engaged participation as the "activated laity" (p. 91). She writes, "The activated laity in modern churches is a rhetorical and practical reality: Religious institutions encourage lay participation, and lay people make substantial contributions to church work" (Monahan, 1999, p. 92).

While clergy leaders typically assume a broader, more expansive role in congregational social enterprise, the role of lay leadership tends to be more limited in scope and contextually determined by the needs of the congregation. Often, lay leaders discuss an area of specific expertise, framing their role in contrast to the clergy leader who does not have the required training, education, or experience required to effectively lead the congregational social enterprise in matters of business or operations. In this way, lay leaders fill the "gaps" for clergy leaders by helping make business decisions, reviewing or drawing up legal documents, or engaging in negotiations. As a result, lay leaders tend to describe their role using task-oriented language, committee positions, and/or business titles. Lay leaders function as real estate developers, bankers, lawyers,

insurance agents, architects, interior decorators, project managers, and funders. One lay leader uses trade language to describe his role as the congregation's "owner representative."

One study has found that lay business leaders neither have the disposition or aptitude to be a minister (Nash & McLennan, 2001, p. 156). However, as with clergy, the role of laity in congregational social enterprise often involves integrating "multiple identities" by combining aspects of business expertise and personal faith (Young, 2001, p. 142). Before participating in congregational social enterprise, most lay leaders describe their business role and their religious role as segregated and distinct. However, in almost every case studied, lay leaders indicate that the congregational social enterprise brings together these secular and religious identities. In particular, lay leaders indicate that congregational social enterprise allows them to use the skill set they learned in their business career in service of their faith and their congregation.[28] One lay leader is a well-respected lawyer who typically handles complex real estate contracts, business mergers, and business acquisitions in his practice. This lay leader references using his background to help his congregation negotiate with private developers for the benefit of the congregation's social enterprise. He says, "I was a business guy in this part of the deal. But I was also, of course, bringing my legal background to it."

While clergy leaders are increasingly learning to take on the role of a "business" leader, lay leaders are learning to think about their roles in a more pastoral or ministerial

[28] Exceptions are when the lay leader does not have a formal business background. For instance, in one case, the lay leader was primarily a homemaker before beginning work with the congregational social enterprise. A few lay leaders have worked in a congregation previously, but the vast majority draw on their experience in the business world.

way. One lay leader who manages the social enterprise for his congregation now considers that he is taking on the role of a pastor. His clergy leader describes the interaction that they shared:

> I was talking to the gentleman that is taking over the management of this place. . . . I asked him, "Bob, tell me what you do." He said, "I'm the manager." "That's not going to get you up in the morning, and that's not true. What are you? You know." . . . And he wouldn't say it, but he wrote down on a piece of paper: "pastor." "Yes. You are the pastor of this place. You oversee community for folks. You create belonging.

The degree to which the "pastoral" identity is taken on by a lay leader is contextually determined. In some cases, the role is less pronounced but still significant. One lay leader describes her secular work as now "totally set apart" from the work of her colleagues. Serving as the leader of a congregational social enterprise has made a fundamental difference in the way she conceives not only of her role within her congregation but also her secular vocation. In particular, she shares that her role in congregational social enterprise has resulted in providing more personal care, attention, and respect to her clients and less exclusive concern for profit and efficiency. The integration of these secular and religious roles indicates a strong sense of role-identity salience (Stryker & Burke, 2000, p. 286). In all, a lay leader's involvement in congregational social enterprise tends to increase his or her sense of ownership in the congregation and his or her commitment to personal faith. The impact of this role identity salience impacts not only the lay leader's work inside of the congregation but also his or her work outside the congregation as well.[29]

[29] Prior research has demonstrated that dense connections between related roles increase the likelihood that an individual will occupy the role (Stryker & Burke, 2000, p. 289). Prior research has also noted that role identities are found to be more legitimate if they are integrated and connected (McCall & Simmons, 1978, p. 92).

Many of my participants indicate that the skill set that lay leaders draw upon has not always been put to full use within congregational leadership. Clergy leaders are often some of the first to acknowledge this reality. One lay business leader with a background in project management served as the congregation's representative on a multi-million-dollar social enterprise project with a private developer. His clergy leader says:

> [This lay leader] was with [a major energy company] for his career doing project management. He is a vision-oriented person. . . . When I got here, he had a lot of questions about the building plan that was already started. . . . He had some really good points. He caught hold of this vision. He's retired. I'm glad he is because he probably worked thirty-to-forty hours a week on this thing since we started. . . . He's been on point with some of the legal stuff and some of the construction stuff. . . . [It is such a blessing] to see him take joy using his gifts and abilities that served him well in the secular world. He's very good at what he did. He's rewarded [because he realizes that] God can use [him to bless the] church and community. That's awesome.

Specifically, congregational social enterprise offers the opportunity for assertive, self-confident, business-minded personalities to find a meaningful place of leadership within congregations.

Typically, congregations—at least at face value—tend to celebrate the virtues of leadership expressing patience, decorum, and peace. However, business dealings within congregational social enterprise require tense, detailed legal negotiations and confident, assertive personalities to represent the congregation's best interest with developers, businesses leaders, and lawyers. One clergy leader describes a conversation with his lay leader:

> But I remember a phone call I got from that guy, and he said, "I've got some demons. There are a lot of things I can't do." He said, "Don't try to send me on a mission trip to Mississippi or Africa. I'm not going to go there and swat mosquitos. That's not my deal. But this [business negotiation], I could do," and he started crying. And he said, "I feel like I did this for God. . . ." You know a lot of men hate church. They just do.

> Particularly a certain kind of guy. Here's a whole a bunch of [underutilized] skill sets.

Social enterprise offers the opportunity for more assertive, self-confident personalities to serve their congregations in meaningful and important ways. Through this process, lay leaders tend to experience a closer connection to the congregation and to God. As they embody the role of congregational social entrepreneur, lay leaders begin to see their business as a form of ministry.

As with clergy leaders, lay leaders may either be passive supporters of the congregation's social enterprise or are—much more commonly—actively engaged in the social enterprise's development and ongoing operation. A lay leader's involvement and expertise are critical for the establishment and development of congregational social enterprise. In some cases, lay leaders are described as "the hands and the feet" of the enterprise and often represent the congregation in business matters. Although many clergy leaders provide the initial vision for the social enterprise, it is not uncommon for lay leaders (thirty percent of the cases in my sample) to propose the initial idea for the congregational social enterprise. Moreover, lay leaders almost always sustain the social enterprise's ongoing operations after the initial launch.

Like clergy leaders, lay leaders commonly describe themselves as "encouragers" or "cheerleaders." One lay leader describes the support that he provides to his clergy leader:

> [A]s a senior pastor, it's so easy to get discouraged. What happens sometimes is we make [clergy leaders] like they have wings. He didn't have wings, but he had a heart for people. . . . So, we wanted to show him this is what the end is going to be. . . . Little did I know that my role would be just that . . . to help him see the end as opposed to see the problems that were taking place in the middle, because some of the problems that I saw, they were Goliaths. . . .

In this way, lay leaders provide support and encouragement to the clergy leader. One lay leader's simple remark, "We can do this," had a major impact on the development of the congregational social enterprise. The lay leader says, "That's all what we needed to know that there were people behind [the clergy leader] that were going to be willing to support him and try to get this job done."

Although all clergy leaders in my sample expressed initial support for the idea of congregational social enterprise, lay leaders expressed much more variety in their initial responses to the concept of congregational social enterprise. It is important to note that not all laity are initially amenable to taking on the role of congregational social entrepreneur or integrating business and ministry logics. In fact, some lay leaders are reticent to the idea altogether. When presented with the idea of becoming a congregational social entrepreneur by his clergy leader, one lay leader shares:

> On the way home, my wife and I were talking. I said, "If that preacher thinks we are going to help him open a business, he's crazy. [Laugh] I'm not doing that." Little did I know. Don't ever say "never" because we did.

Resistance is so strong that in some congregations, leaders report losing ten to thirty percent of their lay membership. I find that resistance among lay leaders is generally stronger among well-established congregations (what the academic literature has termed "churches") when compared to the opposition within newer congregations or church plants (what the academic literature has termed "sects").[30] I find that the lay leadership of

[30] Church-Sect theory has been used quite successfully as a conceptual framework for thinking organizationally about religious groups (Demerath, Hall, & Schmitt, 1998). Birthed out of Weberian thought, Church-Sect Theory dichotomizes religious groups into two "types": established churches and emerging sects (Troeltsch, 1992; Robbins & Lucas, 2007; Demerath et al., 1998).[30] A key differentiating feature between churches and sects is the length of time that the communities have existed (Lucas, 1995; Robbins & Lucas, 2007). Churches are heterogeneous, inclusive, tolerant communities embodying the social values of a particular segment of society.[30] These organizations tend to be bureaucratic, hierarchical,

more recently established congregations are more willing to pursue socially entrepreneurial ventures, in part, because their congregations do not tend to have established rituals and bureaucratic leadership structures. Additionally, because lay people tend to self-select into more recently established congregations (where as it is more likely that lay people are "born" into established churches), lay leaders of recently established congregations tend to be aware of the congregation's entrepreneurial potential when joining. Those who are not interested in adopting this identity do not self-select into this group.

While contextually determined, the individual jurisdiction of clergy and lay leaders generally involves clergy leaders taking on a business role and lay leaders taking on a ministerial role. Figure 2.1 conceptualizes the blurring of these roles as a spectrum bringing lay and clergy leaders closer together in their understanding of their identities in congregational social enterprise. This amalgamation of roles leads to a new role that is present across contexts via the shared jurisdiction of a collaborative partnership between lay and clergy leaders. It is to this topic which I will turn next.

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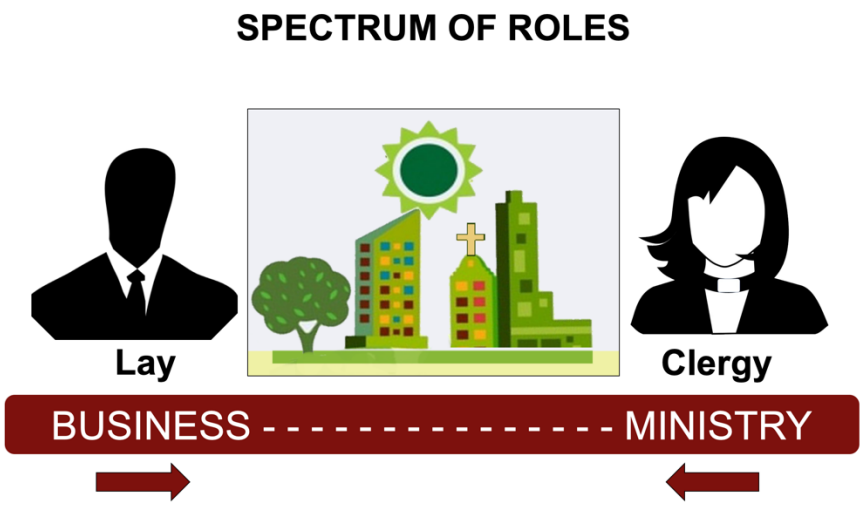
and steeped in ritual and dogma (Tracey, 2012). The majority of new members come into churches by virtue of their families. They are literally born into the faith. Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) explain that a leader may not pursue new alternatives in an effort to preserve some semblance of stability within the institution. Sects, on the other hand, attract the majority of their members by conversion during adulthood (Dawson, 2009).[30] Sects are homogenous, exclusive religious communities with radical beliefs and strict tenants. Within sects, leadership tends to be more informal and communities are often anti-ritualistic.

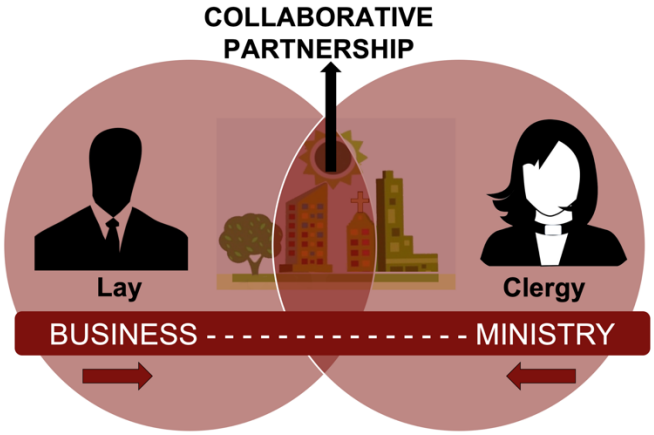
Figure 2.1: Spectrum of Roles in Congregational Social Enterprise



SHARED JURISDICTION: THE COLLABORATIVE PARTNERSHIP OF LAY AND CLERGY LEADERS

Just as lay and clergy leaders have distinct, individual roles in congregational social entrepreneurship, social enterprise requires lay and clergy leaders to adopt a shared role—that of congregational social entrepreneur. The academic literature on congregations has noted that shared jurisdiction has historically included roles involving worship planning and the performance of administrative tasks (Monahan, 1999, p. 88); however, the role of congregational social entrepreneur requires congregational leaders to establish a collaborative partnership with their lay or clergy counterparts. As lay leaders are adopting ministerial roles, clergy leaders are embracing business roles. The result is a new role of congregational social entrepreneur that is embodied in a collaborative partnership between lay and clergy leaders. I conceptualize this partnership in Figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2: The Collaborative Partnership of Congregational Social Enterprise



The social entrepreneurship literature has generally stressed autonomous behavior in entrepreneurial leadership. Autonomy may be understood as "the ability to take independent action" (Pearce II et al., 2010, p. 225) and serves as the level of freedom present within an organization allowing a leader to develop, implement, and actualize new ideas (Rauch et al., 2009, p. 764). Unlike for-profit enterprises, collaboration is often a necessary requirement for nonprofit institutions. Lurtz and Kreutzer (2017) have observed that collaboration occurs between entrepreneurial nonprofits operating in the same space. Often, similar nonprofits collaborate to obtain knowledge, to increase legitimacy, and to pursue collaborative funding opportunities (Lurtz & Kreutzer, 2017, p. 107). However, some scholars contend that the appreciation for competition and free enterprise—not collaboration—has fostered the development and expansion of parachurch agencies that exist alongside congregations and denominational bodies across the American religious landscape (Willmer, Schmidt, & Smith, 1998, pp. 46–47).

Because nonprofit leaders are bound by the social mission of the organization established by governing boards and the linkage that donors have to that mission, third

sector organizations may not have the same degree of autonomy that for-profit firms have. From an external perspective, Lumpkin et al. (2013) have noted that nonprofits will often collaborate with other organizations serving the same social mission, a connection that would seldom occur in for-profit business. From an internal perspective, the interests of multiple stakeholders and the concept of shared governance may restrict the autonomy of nonprofit institutions. In particular, Pearce II et al. (2010) have found that bureaucracy tends to squelch autonomous behavior (p. 227). Noting the importance of this role, Lumpkin et al. (2013) have called for further research on collaborative aspects of nonprofit social entrepreneurship.

Because bureaucracy tends to limit autonomy, congregational leaders in more hierarchical churches and denominations often have less autonomy than those in independent newly established congregations (sects) with less formal polity and less outside accountability. Certainly, a degree of autonomy is present within the role congregational social entrepreneurs.[31] Primarily, however, congregational social entrepreneurs are collaborators. Expanding responsibility allows for the incorporation of additional perspectives and giftings that the leader may not possess on his or her own. As one clergy leader says:

> I love working with teams of people that have gifts and abilities that I don't, from the financial side of this, to building side of this, to the ministry side of it. We've got consultants and managers for the ministries and building things and just to see how God brings people together to use the gifts that they've been given in the business world for the church.

[31] Previous literature regarding entrepreneurial orientation has shown that the influence of top-level leadership is typically highest in smaller organizations (Rauch, Wiklund, Lumpkin, & Frese, 2009). These smaller firms are able to adapt more quickly and are more likely to take advantage of emerging opportunities (Covin & Slevin, 1989). This finding may be nuanced in smaller congregations where a few key families may wield considerable power and influence. Nevertheless, clergy and lay leaders of congregations with larger memberships engage in more sophisticated planning (Odom & Boxx, 1988).

Lumpkin et al. (2013) have noted that nonprofits will often collaborate with individuals and organizations serving the same social mission.[32] Similarly, my respondents note numerous instances in which they interviewed other congregational and nonprofit leaders involved in similar forms of social entrepreneurship. Their leadership teams learn from each other, share best practices, and help with the details of establishment and operations. In addition to conversations that take place at a distance, I find that congregational leaders often make site visits to other social enterprises, especially to those within their own religious tradition where possible.

Beyond collaboration with outside parties, I find that the most robust form of collaboration occurs within the congregational social enterprise itself, namely within the collaborative partnership that develops between lay and clergy leaders. Within my sample of congregational social entrepreneurs, no respondent indicated being able to launch or maintain a congregational social enterprise individually. A team was always required. In particular, there is a kind of unique relationships that seems to exist between lay and clergy social entrepreneurs as each individual begins to embrace the role traditionally associated with the other. Often this partnership draws on complementary gifts from each congregational leader. One clergy leader describes this relationship by drawing a distinction between architecture and archaeology. While an architect can draft plans alone in an office, an archaeologist works with a team. Accordingly, this clergy leader says that congregational social enterprise requires teamwork between parties within the

[32] Collaboration of this sort would seldom occur in for-profit business because those in the same sector are competing with one another to maximize shareholder value.

congregation. These lay and clergy teams can increase productivity, mitigate against risk, and increase accountability.

Either by necessity and/or their nature, congregational social entrepreneurs are collaborative. While congregational social entrepreneurs are willing to be personally engaged in the work of the social enterprise, they expand responsibility and ownership to other parties. In the process, these leaders develop a coalition of supporters, employees, and volunteers. As one lay leader says, "Part of the thing that [we have] tried to do is empower the volunteers and show them how much they're doing . . . and how much we really appreciate all they're doing." In this form of leadership, there is a sense of commitment and collaboration extending beyond the individual leader. Oftentimes within for-profit business models, we think of a bold, independent, visionary entrepreneur. Congregational social entrepreneurship, however, is a more collaborative process where buy-in and commitment must be achieved from multiple stakeholders. This is one of the "social" aspects of social entrepreneurship. As one lay leader says, "We try to be really collaborative in how we come up with new projects . . . so that we all are in [it] together. . . ." In some parish structures, the organization of administrative and denominational committees force the expansion of responsibility. If operating within a more structured hierarchical context, congregational social entrepreneurs note the importance of ensuring denominational leaders are a part of the collaborative process. As one lay leader says, "Early on obviously [the pastor] spent a lot of time with the [superintendent] and with the bishop to get their approval. We had their wholehearted blessing." In this way, collaboration can extend beyond the congregation to denominational representatives that provide oversight to the congregation.

Expanding the responsibility outside of just the clergy leader and/or congregational staff is important. As one respondent said, "I think if you deal only with clergy, then we may be in trouble." Through active leadership, collaboration becomes a function of communal discernment. Together, the congregation's lay and clergy leadership endorse and adopt the social enterprise as a form of ministry. Otherwise, the social enterprise functions as the congregational leader's pet project. As one clergy leader says:

> [D]eep prayerful risk that is discerned by a community, and not by a singular person, is often the way . . . I believe entrepreneurship breaks through because it's born in the heart of God and not in the heart of the person with a great idea. . . . None of this happens without [the community].

Beyond the efficaciousness of establishing a collaborative partnership in one's congregation, there are also practical benefits to expanding responsibility. First, a congregational leader needs a critical mass to make things happen. As one lay leader says, "[Our pastor] was smart enough or God gave him common sense enough to know that others have to engage with a sense of purpose, or something is not going to happen. That was the genesis of [the social enterprise]."

Second, without a team, the work involved with congregational social enterprise can become overwhelming. In one congregation, a lay person tried to do most of the work to run the congregational social enterprise with just her and her husband because she was having trouble recruiting volunteers. She describes the outcome:

> It started to bear on our relationship because the church . . . was there when it was new and exciting, but when it got down to the nuts and bolts of everyday putting in time and stuff, they fell off. In fact, they fell out so bad, we had to go the church and say, "We are not getting the volunteers. . . . We've done our two years. We're struggling. It is starting to bear on us,

> and we are going to turn it over to the church. . . . We have to turn it over to the church because it is **NOT** [our] place."

In this case, by expanding responsibility and bringing on new volunteers, the congregational social enterprise was able to flourish. The collaborative relationship between lay and clergy leaders often serves as an outlet for guidance, encouragement, and mutual support. At times, opposition to the social enterprise can be fierce. A strong, committed relationship between lay and clergy leaders can give congregational leaders the strength they need to face challenges associated with the social enterprise. In some instances, lay leaders have changed jobs and moved cross-country to be able to join in the work of social enterprise with a clergy leader.

Third, bringing others onboard, may compensate for the lack of knowledge that a single leader possesses, offer the expression of complementary gifts, and engage those that can encourage and support the leader during difficult time. Often, because of their lack of training, clergy need help from their lay leaders with the financial, business, and legal components of the congregational social enterprise. As one lay leader freely confessed:

> [Our pastor] was very practical. She was not a finance person by any means. So that's one of the issues I think with a lot of the churches . . . that the pastors really don't have the financial background. . . . You got people that are very good at what they do but that doesn't mean they're good with finance issues.

In this way, the collaborative relationship between lay and clergy leaders is complementary. As one clergy leader says, "I love working with teams of people that have gifts and abilities that I don't, from the financial side of this, to building side of this, to the ministry side of it." Lay leaders may bring business expertise, project management skills, financial resources, and available time that the clergy person does not possess.

Similarly, clergy persons often bring institutional legitimacy, knowledge of how to navigate congregational and denominational governance structures, vision for the social enterprise, and scriptural grounding. One leader may be gifted at establishing a vision for the congregation, while another leader is more adept at implementing the vision. One leader may be more cautious while the other leader is willing to take risks. Describing the complementary nature of his relationship with his clergy leader, one lay leader says:

> [The pastor and I] made a good one-two punch because I'm more cautious by nature. . . . It was almost like God created me to be able to handle the type of leader that [the pastor] was. I like the idea of adventure and I like to be attached to the person who is ready to gain new ground. . . . So, I'm good at implementation. [The pastor] is a big visionary. . . . So [the pastor] has this big dream, but [our pastor was] not a person who can implement those dreams. He's just not by nature. He can't handle the details. He gets overwhelmed by them. I am that person.

My data reveal a sense of trust, rapport, and mutual respect among lay and clergy leaders. The collaborative relationship that develops between the lay and clergy leaders is unique. As one lay leader—who is a successful business man—says:

> I was moved by what they set out to do [in the social enterprise] based on our pastor . . . with whom I had a very special relationship. . . . That project and just our rapport was a real bonding opportunity for [us]. . . . It was a different relationship than a senior pastor can have with anybody in this congregation.

Congregational social enterprise can produce bonding between congregational leaders. The trust that is established between lay and clergy leaders can give congregational leaders confidence that they will be supported in times of opposition and will be able to draw upon each other's strengths in times of need. When asked what gave him the confidence he needed to move forward with his congregation's social enterprise, the clergy leader says, "I had confidence in my leadership and my board. They would not . . . walk away from me."

Failure to nurture the relationship between lay and clergy leadership often strains the relationship, leads to suspicion, and potentially harms the social enterprise. In one instance, a clergy leader was not supportive of the key lay leader responsible for the social enterprise in his congregation. Not only did the clergy leader fail to thank his lay leader for her tireless work, but also he did not publicly defend her when she faced opposition. As a result of the strained relationship, the lay leader—who was essential the ongoing operation of the social enterprise—resigned from her duties and is now less involved in her congregation. A collaborative partnership offers benefits to congregational leaders, including a critical mass necessary for the establishment and operation of the social enterprise, having others that can share the ongoing workload, and the exposure to a variety of gifts that can compensate for the lack of training or expertise a given leader may possess in a critical subject area.

If a collaborative partnership is established as lay and clergy leaders embrace roles typically associated with one another, what are the defining characteristics and byproducts of this relationship? I find that the collaborative partnership results in shared roles—innovators, risk-takers, initiators, and instigators—embraced across contexts. Although Carroll (1992) has noted a trend of increasing emphasis on partnerships among clergy and laity,[33] Carroll (1992, p. 296) and Hahnenberg (2003, p. 213) agree that the blurring of lay and clergy roles often produces frustration among congregational leaders. By contrast, my sample does not generally express such frustration or concern over the

[33] Carroll (1992) has observed that American religion's evolution is the "the end of clericalism," noting a "blurring, if not breaking down, of the markers setting clergy off from laity" (p. 294). The author says, "Clergy, who were once wielders of power over laity, are now called to share ministry with them" (p. 294).

blurring of roles. In fact, my sample of congregational social entrepreneurs expresses frustration when there is an absence of a collaborative partnership and mutual support with regard to roles. Both the lay and clergy leaders in my sample realize their need for one another.[34] Additionally, Monahan (1999) has noted that that when clergy and laity share roles the prevalence of role ambiguity increases and results in unclear expectations, uncertain performance requirements, and vague evaluation measures. Possibly explained by the shared jurisdiction of the lay and clergy collaborative partnership, my respondents express little to no concern about role ambiguity. Instead, there is a spirit of mutuality pervading their shared roles, relationships, and responsibilities. The collaborative partnership, in turn, increases the salience and interconnectedness of congregational social entrepreneurs as they share the roles of innovator, risk-taker, initiator, and instigator.[35]

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[34] Monahan (1999) theorizes that a person's ministerial philosophy—or understanding of what it means to be a congregational leader—may impact the degree of reticence or openness a congregational leader has towards roles with shared jurisdiction writing, "It may be that high levels of shared jurisdiction resonate—rather than clash—wish cultural norms regarding the role of lay people in many Protestant denominations. That is, clergy may view high levels of shared jurisdiction as appropriate in keeping with their calling to 'establish the saints.' This suggests that clergy may be more or less comfortable with blurred role boundaries in the church depending upon their ministerial philosophy (i.e., their understanding of the role of congregational leader)" (p. 91). Protestant congregational leaders may support a ministerial philosophy of shared jurisdiction and collaborative partnership because the Protestant emphasis on the ministerial role of all believers, what Martin Luther termed "the priesthood of all believers." Therefore, protestant congregational leaders may support activated lay leadership.

[35] This set of characteristics has been adapted from a concept within the social entrepreneurship literature known as entrepreneurial orientation. Entrepreneurial orientation refers to the "strategy-making process that provides organizations with a basis for entrepreneurial decisions and actions" (Rauch et al., 2009, p. 762)**.** First rooted in strategy-making process literature (Mintzberg, 1973), entrepreneurial orientation focuses on the ways that a leader's culture, role, value system, and mission influence decision-making processes and eventually lead to entrepreneurial action (Rauch et al., 2009).[35] Traditionally, entrepreneurial orientation has focused on qualities of leadership such as innovation, risk, and proactiveness (Rauch et al., 2009). Pearce II, Fritz, and Davis (2010) focus on a leader's competitive aggressiveness and autonomy, and Lurtz and Kreutzer (2017) notice that collaboration is unique to the leadership of nonprofit organizations.

INNOVATOR

The first shared role of a congregational social entrepreneur is that of innovator. Innovation may be defined as a "willingness of an [leader] to support new ideas" and experimentation (Pearce II et al., 2010, p. 225).[36] In theory, entrepreneurial orientation holds that certain individuals have a "tendency" (G. Tom Lumpkin & Dess, 1996, p. 142) or a "predisposition" (Rauch et al., 2009, p. 763) for creative pursuits. Indeed, scholars find that entrepreneurial orientation often leads to these innovative practices (Dart, 2004; Dees, 1998a; Dover & Lawrence, 2012). Consistent with the academic literature, congregational social entrepreneurs are innovative, visionary leaders. Generally, lay and clergy respondents for this study indicate that their role in congregational social entrepreneurship requires ongoing innovation. As one clergy leader says, "The way that we're doing things [in congregational social enterprise] is not always the way [my congregation is] used to doing things." Describing his role as being in "a new territory," this clergy leader relates that he knows of no one in his denomination that has tried anything like the social enterprise that his congregation is launching. Similarly, the lay leader of another congregational social enterprise describes his role saying, "[S]ometimes leadership requires that [what is] undertaken is a little bit different. It's not the usual committee stuff." Consequently, congregational social entrepreneurs are willing to try new things and take uncharted paths.

[36] Within the study of entrepreneurial orientation, the concept of innovation was first used to describe changes in manufacturing procedures of tangible goods (Pearce II et al., 2010). Now, the term more broadly applies to new ideas, products, services, technologies, or enterprises (G. Tom Lumpkin & Dess, 1996; Rauch et al., 2009).

Religious forms of social entrepreneurship are not new to the American experience. Many of the nation's first colleges and universities, healthcare institutions, and social service agencies represent examples of social entrepreneurship by pioneering denominational bodies and people of faith. As indicated in the introduction, however, social entrepreneurship has been employed by parachurch agencies often to the exclusion of congregations and denominations (see Eskridge & Noll, 2000; Lindsay, 2007; Scheitle, 2010). Habitat for Humanity and World Vision serve as examples of these types of parachurch agencies that often work with congregations but are separate institutions working across denominational lines (e.g. Willmer et al., 1998; Baggett, 2000, pp. 60–61). Therefore, faith-based social entrepreneurship is not new. What seems to be emerging currently, however, are social entrepreneurs who are committed to working within, instead of alongside, congregations and denominational bodies. It could be that the increasing prevalence of congregational leaders engaged in social enterprise reflects changing cultural realities within congregations, denominations, and/or American religious life more broadly.

Deephouse (1999) has shown that the need for legitimacy restricts the behavior of organizations and, by virtue, leaders. Because credibility is essential for religious movements (Miller, 2002), religious bodies often resist innovation because traditions and routines foster legitimacy and create stable, predictable environments (Pearce II et al., 2010, p. 225). Without credibility, religious movements suffer from a lack of perceived legitimacy.[37] For this reason, first-mover and competitive advantage may not always be found in innovation but in appealing to organizational history, rituals, and doctrines.

[37] In particular, "social legitimacy" is key to a religious movement at its founding (Miller, 2002).

Miller (2002) writes, "Preserving organizational routines can be critical to the legitimacy of religious organizations" (p. 442). Miller has referred to this practice as the "management of traditionality" (p. 442). More recently, Jones (2009; 2016) has referred to this concept as "traditioned-innovation." Indeed, congregational social entrepreneurs within established congregations must navigate a delicate balance between tradition and innovation.[38] To do so, the role that congregational leaders occupy must nuance the concept of innovation by connecting it with the historic practices of the congregation or the Christian Church more broadly. Because of an "independent streak" within the congregational social enterprise, one lay leader says:

> It was important to communicate to the church what the mission of [social enterprise is]. I guess the role I've [taken] now is to make sure the church . . . understands that the success [of the congregational social enterprise] is twofold. Yes, it's a business. But it is a ministry also. . . . Recently, my role has been to reassure the older members, keep them involved, and remind them that this is the church's ministry. . . .

Therefore, while the role of innovator is required for congregational leaders pursuing social enterprise, congregational leaders also indicate that their innovation needs to be connected with the core, established mission of the congregation.

RISK-TAKER

Secondly, some embrace the role of risk-taker. Risk may be defined as "the extent to which there is uncertainty about whether potentially significant and/or disappointing outcomes of decisions will be realized" (Sitkin & Pablo, 1992, p. 10). Risk often accompanies entrepreneurial activity of leadership, especially in for-profit enterprises. Seventy percent of businesses prove unsuccessful within the first eight years of their

[38] Without long-lasting traditions, church plants and sects typically face less opposition when compared to established churches.

founding (Dees, 1998a, p. 58). A tendency towards risk implies a willingness of a leader or organization to make significant commitments even when the future outcome is uncertain (Pearce II et al., 2010, p. 225). As a result, scholars often associate risk with "bold actions" (Rauch et al., 2009, p. 763) that are "outside of accepted practices and norms" (Pearce II et al., 2010, p. 227).

Due to limited resources, risk-taking may be lessened within social enterprises, especially within the nonprofit sector (Weerawardena & Mort, 2006). Lurtz and Kreutzer (2017) have noted that uncertainty creates skepticism and threatens nonprofit legitimacy (p. 109). Risk becomes apparent within entrepreneurial orientation when resources could be allocated for other purposes more clearly tied to an organization's mission (Rauch et al., 2009). Nonprofits are not as free to take financial risks because of the obligation to use donor funds responsibly (Gras & Mendoza-Abarca, 2014). Although it may vary by organization and subsector, Lurtz and Kreutzer (2017) have found nonprofit risk tolerance low with regards to financial matters and high with regard to service provision.[39]

Typically, congregational leaders have a general aversion towards risk. In a study of United Methodist congregations, Arjannikova (2013) found that aversion to risk and a culture of perceived economic scarcity influenced the number of programs that were

[39] For example, Lurtz and Kreutzer (2017) discovered that World Vision Germany faced resistance when trying to change its traditional funding model to establish a social enterprise. One employee who served in a leadership capacity expressed hesitancy because of the uncertainty of the project's success saying, "The donors entrusted their money to our care, and we are not allowed to waste it" (p. 107). As a result, leaders of nonprofit social enterprise remain cautious and mitigate risk where possible. In the case of World Vision Germany, the risk the agency faced by not diversifying its revenue streams proved to be greater than the risk of starting a social enterprise—a concept the authors refer to as "outsourcing risk" (p. 107). Because leaders in the organization became convinced that the organization's social mission would be hindered without changing its revenue model, World Vision Germany was willing to accept the risk. In other parachurch organizations, risk may be more engrained into the cultural framework.

begun within a congregation, the number of staff hired, and the types of expenditures made (p. 243). This author found that risk aversion limited the congregation's outreach and contributed to "negativity and frustration" regarding congregational decisions and activities (p. 244). Historically, because of long standing traditions, theological convictions, and/or resource dependency concerns, clergy leaders have been reticent to introduce new ideas in an effort to maintain congregational stability.[40] Altering the way in which the congregation supplies its resources—as may be the case with congregational social enterprises—may disrupt the status quo and create uncertainty (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978, pp. 42, 46–47).[41]

Consistent with much of the social enterprise literature and in contrast to most academic studies of congregations and their leaders, I find that congregational social entrepreneurs are risk-takers. These congregational leaders are willing to blaze new paths for their congregations. One clergy leader indicates that the establishment of a congregational social enterprise creates "muscle for risk" and "entrepreneurial creativity." Another clergy leader uses the phrase "take the risk" as the tag line for his congregation, especially in the congregation's marketing materials. Through this phrase, the clergy leader is communicating to members of his congregation and community that there is an element of boldness and risk-taking that is associated with the culture of his congregation. More than just a tag line, however, this phrase is practically embodied

[40] Although a willingness to risk one's personal reputation or assets may signal intense dedication to a religious movement, Pearce II et al. (2010) note that congregational leaders tend to favor predictability. In their study, risk-taking did not achieve statistical significance for overall improvement in performance measures.

[41] However, as society changes, there may be just as much risk in changing a congregation's economic model as there is in keeping it the same.

through the multimillion-dollar social enterprise that this congregation's leadership is establishing.

The risk that congregational leaders embrace is not only institutional but also personal. One clergy leader took the bold step of changing denominations to be able to practice congregational social enterprise when his former denomination stifled his bold, visionary leadership. This transition to a new denomination decreased his family's earning potential and required him to build a new congregation from the ground up. This clergy leader took on personal risk because of his passion for social enterprise. Similarly, a lay leader describes the personal, legal liability that he has assumed on behalf of his congregation with regard to a multimillion-dollar business contract with a developer: "Personally, I've taken on liability should this [social enterprise] go south. . . [The developer] can come after me personally even though I'm a volunteer. I'm not protected by the church." Additionally, countless lay and clergy leaders describe putting up their own personal financial resources to launch their congregational social enterprise. For some, it is their life's savings. Congregational social entrepreneurs are risk-takers.

One of the most enlightening experiences I had while interviewing congregational leaders occurred when I asked a lay leader if his financial investment to start a congregational social enterprise felt risky. This lay leader is an incredibly successful businessman. When compared to his overall net worth, this lay leader's financial investment was relatively insignificant. Therefore, I expected this lay leader to say that his financial investment did *not* feel risky. Instead, the lay leader responded, "Yes. Yes, of course it felt risky, and that's what made it so attractive." In business, this man's capability to see possibility when faced with uncertainty made him a successful

entrepreneur in the private sector. Now, as a congregational social entrepreneur, he gladly embraces the same role of risk-taker on behalf of his congregation.

It must be noted, however, that the role of risk-taker is carefully measured and not haphazard. Whenever possible, congregational leaders take deliberate risk weighing the consequences and mitigating potential liabilities. Their actions, while risky, are also responsibly cautious. As one lay leader says:

> Oh yeah. There's definitely risk. By nature, I'm a lawyer; so, I'm trained to see risk. I see risk everywhere. . . . I told [our team] about construction risk, financial risk. . . . You know there's risk everywhere in this deal. . ., but it's been mitigated by the tremendous investment in the building. . . . So, in a lot of ways our risk is very mitigated. But during the construction it was very high.

Noting his cautious approach, another lay leader says:

> I saw the price tag on some of these projects, and I was like we don't have any money. How in the world are we going to potentially build a project that's north of $10 million? We don't have the capacity to do that. So, there's that cautious side of me that doesn't just rely completely on faith the way that [our clergy leader] tends to operate. For me, it was pretty terrifying.

While mitigating risk and even while being terrified of the uncertain consequences, congregational social entrepreneurs continue to take bold steps as risk-takers. The level of commitment to congregational social entrepreneurship and role identity salience may be expressed by the risk that the congregational leader is willing to take on behalf of the congregational social enterprise.

INITIATOR

Third, congregational social entrepreneurs are initiators, a role that embraces a concept known as proactiveness. Within the social entrepreneurship literature, Pearce II et al. (2010) have defined proactiveness as the "willingness of leaders to conceptualize

and implement a plan" (p. 226). Because proactiveness refers to the initiative to implement new ideas, we may think of proactiveness as the operationalization of innovation. With visionary foresight, initiators anticipate needs and prepare for changes ahead of others in the same industry (Lurtz & Kreutzer, 2017, p. 95; Rauch et al., 2009, p. 763). While for-profit firms proactively develop new products and services to benefit shareholders, nonprofits tend to proactively develop new products and services based upon mission fulfillment (M. H. Morris, Webb, & Franklin, 2011, p. 449).[42] The degree of initiative that is present within a nonprofit is based upon the nonprofit's "reference point" to other nonprofits working in a similar field, stakeholder expectations, and financial requirements (M. H. Morris et al., 2011, pp. 957, 959). Existing research has shown that the leadership of congregations is generally resistant to proactiveness, favoring instead stability and tradition (Pearce II et al., 2010, p. 226).[43] As one of my respondents says, "In my [typical experience with] the church, decision-making and getting things done is as fast as molasses and as difficult as pulling teeth. . . . We just don't make fast decisions."

Holding that organizations are constituted by coalitions adjusting and realigning as environmental circumstances change, open systems theory proposes an intimate connection with environmental conditions that shape, support, energize, and inform organizational behavior (Scott & Davis, 2015, pp. 31, 88, 106). An organization's size,

[42] The level of proactiveness tends to vary by organization (Helm & Andersson, 2010). Within social entrepreneurship, proactiveness usually incorporates business and free market logics (Lurtz & Kreutzer, 2017, p. 109).

[43] When religious leaders are willing to empower lay persons to proactively pursue new enterprises, Pearce II et al. (2010) find that lay members tend to respond positively and the congregation performs better by objective measures (pp. 221-222).

age, environmental stability, momentum, and willingness to adapt, may influence its ability to survive, change, or grow (Baum & Shipilov, 2006, pp. 59–74). Additionally, structural inertia theory indicates that established organizations naturally resist change because of a liability of newness (Baum & Shipilov, 2006, p. 68). Greenwood and Hinings (1996) have explained that specific internal "organizational dynamics" may account for the differences in the way change is adopted within institutions that are part of the same sector (p. 1023). An organization's resistance to change may result from the organization's "normative embeddedness" (p. 1024).[44]

Consistent with the social entrepreneurship literature and in contrast to the existing research on congregations, congregational social entrepreneurs are proactive initiators. As one lay leader says, "[With] any project like this . . . within a church . . . you [have] to have few people that are 'making-it-happen' kind of people, and they have to be empowered. . . . Without that in the church environment, new stuff just doesn't happen. . . ." One clergy leader refers to this type of proactive behavior as "the hustle." For him, "the hustle" refers to actively pursuing new ideas in ministry and business instead of passively waiting for another party to do the work that is required. Another clergy leader's lay leadership team requires him to be proactive. He says, "[Our lay leadership team] doesn't want me to come into the meeting with a blank piece of paper saying, 'What do you all want to do?' They don't respect that. . . . I don't waste their time. At

[44] Greenwood and Hinings (1996) differentiate between 1) convergent change (minor adjustments) and radical change (major adjustments) and 2) evolutionary change (new ideas are adopted slowly) and revolutionary change (new ideas are adopted quickly among all parts of the organization) (p. 1024). Hannah and Freeman (1984) note modifying core structures of an organization threatens its stability and may aggravate stakeholders and lead to mission drift or in extreme cases organizational failure (p. 160).

minimum, I have to bring something to start the conversation." Here, these congregational leaders note the importance of taking initiative.

Proactive congregational leadership also involves a willingness to make decisions and delegate authority. As one lay leader says, the business world will not wait for every decision to be made by a church committee. In the case of his congregation, this lay leader indicates that the developer with whom his congregation has worked would not have remained in negotiations had the congregational leadership not been "actively engaged" and willing to make decisions on an ongoing basis. With few exceptions, congregational leaders play a direct role in the establishment of the congregational social enterprise and are active in the venture's ongoing operation.[45] However, proactive leadership does not mean that the congregational leader has to be the one to execute every detail of the social enterprise personally. As initiators, congregational leader often take responsibility for the project's execution by effectively delegating authority to others. As one clergy leader says, "We have so many great people on staff now that I don't have to do a lot of the day-to-day. We have managers downstairs in the restaurant and managers in the ballroom."

INSTIGATOR

Fourth, congregational leaders are instigators. The academic social entrepreneurship literature refers to this form of entrepreneurial orientation as competitive aggressiveness. Competitive aggressiveness may be defined as "the act of risking conflict and retribution, rather than merely accepting a harmonious coexistence" (Pearce II et al., 2010, p. 225). Entrepreneurial leaders proactively take on risk that may

[45] Ongoing involvement may be more supervisory than handling the day-to-day operations.

put the organization at odds with other firms in the same industry. Within the business literature, the degree to which competitive aggressiveness is present in an organization is distinctly connected to the passion its leaders have to outperform competitors. Rauch et al. (2009) have described competitive aggressiveness as an "offensive posture" (p. 764). Pearce II et al. (2010) have clarified that competitive aggressiveness must be a strategic effort (p. 226).

Cultural context must be considered when determining the degree to which competitive aggressiveness contributes to organizational effectiveness and performance (Rauch et al., 2009). When compared to for-profit institutions, competitive aggressiveness may be minimized, eliminated, or expressed differently in nonprofit social enterprises. Competitive aggressiveness within nonprofit organizations may distract from an overarching social objective (G. T. Lumpkin et al., 2013, p. 770). Because almost all religious communities seek to maintain or increase their membership through competitive means (Cimino & Lattin, 1998; Finke & Stark, 1988; Miller, 2002), Berger (1990) has held that the logic of free market economics applies to religious institutions.[46] He refers to religious traditions as "consumer commodities" that must be sold in competition with other religious communities (p. 138). Many congregations and denominations compete for what may be referred to as "market share," members, size, and influence (See Bose, 2006; Finke & Iannaccone, 1993; Stark, 1996). As with the larger nonprofit sector (Dees, 1998a; Haugh, 2007; Leroux, 2005; Salamon, 1993; Weerawardena & Mort, 2006),

[46] Religious "competition" has been especially pronounced in America because of the Constitution's first amendment, which allows for the free expression of religion (the establishment clause), guarantees freedom of speech, and protects peaceful assembly (Clotfelter & Ehrlich, 1999, p. 504). Because the American form of government does not favor one agency over the other, a seemingly unlimited *supply* of secular and religious organizations and individuals may compete for the effective delivery of social goods.

religious communities must also compete for donations.[47] Therefore, competitive aggressiveness—in for-profit business terms—may not always be valued within the leadership of all religious communities, especially within those communities that value "love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, and self-control" (Gal. 5:22, *NRSV*, 1991).

As instigators, congregational leaders do not seek out conflict intentionally; rather, they are not deterred by the possibility of conflict occurring. It is not that congregational leaders intentionally seek out conflict but rather that they are not deterred by the possibility of conflict occurring. In most established congregations, the introduction of the concept of congregational social entrepreneurship raises significant concerns within the congregation's membership. Because most lay and clergy leaders do not enjoy conflict, they tend to avoid topics that create unnecessary conflict in order to maintain stability within the congregation. However, congregational social entrepreneurs occupy a qualitatively different role from this norm. As one lay leader says, "I tend to personally be an adversarial kind of guy, so I actually sort of enjoy those kinds of conversation in a weird kind of sense."

In this way, congregational social enterprise offers the opportunity for aggressive, business-minded personalities to find a meaningful place of leadership within congregations. Typically, congregations—at least at face value—tend to celebrate the

[47] Stievermann, Goff, Junker, Silliman, and Santoro (2015) have been careful to note that the blanket application of economic theories and principles upon religious communities may fail to appreciate what is actually occurring within communities of faith. These authors acknowledge the dangers in this practice by writing: "The commodification of religion . . . obscure[s] not only the extraordinary complexity but also the long and diverse history of the relationship between religion and the marketplace in America. . . . Indeed, the story of religion and the marketplace in America is one of manifold, mutual, and often highly contradictory forms of interaction. . . ." (p. 2).

virtues of leadership that expresses patience, decorum, and peace. At times, business dealings within congregational social enterprise require tense, detailed legal negotiations and somewhat aggressive personalities that will represent the congregation's best interest with developers, businesses leaders, and lawyers. Clergy leaders described the benefit of relying on these gifted, business individuals saying:

> One of the side deals that's cool I think for pastors is that you get to engage a lot of people that have a skill set that aren't traditionally celebrated or recognized in the church. With these very complicated real estate deals, . . . I'm going to find our meanest, toughest guy. I'm going to put him straight in the frontline. . . . I called one of my friends in the church, and I say, 'Hey man, when I first became a pastor, I had a guy tell me if I was going to survive, I needed a few deacons that were just a little bit saved.' He said, 'I'm your guy. . . .' He's just a great businessman, tough, hard-edged guy. . . . So, he just took it on and gave tons of time and tons of hours. . . .

Social enterprise offers the opportunity for more aggressive personalities to serve their congregations in meaningful and important ways. Moreover, leaders interviewed for this study indicate that through this process, these persons experience a closer connection to the congregation and to God. At times, they learn to harness their aggressive energy and use it spiritually as well as creatively.

Thus, the role of congregational social entrepreneur as "instigator" falls somewhere between the stereotypical competitive aggressiveness of for-profit firms and the stereotypical conflict-aversion of many non-profits, especially congregations. Obviously, congregational social entrepreneurs do not stir up controversy for controversy's sake. Instead, they believe so passionately in the mission of congregational social entrepreneurship that they are willing to instigate a potentially polemical plan.

CONCLUSION

A leader's role in a congregational social enterprise is multifaceted and contextually based. When compared to the role of clergy leadership, the role of lay leadership is usually more well-defined but encompasses a much broader array of individual roles determined by the specific context of the congregation and its business venture. The individual role of a congregational leader is not static. The role often evolves based upon the needs, growth, and/or success of the social enterprise as well as the personal interest and availability of the leader. As one clergy leader says: "My role is always a little bit changing. . . ."[48] When engaged in congregational social entrepreneurship, a blurring of roles occurs between clergy and lay leaders. Clergy leaders often take on a business role, while lay leaders take on a ministerial role. Role identity salience of this blended role is strong among lay and clergy leaders as they see business as a form of ministry.

In addition to the distinct individual roles that congregational social entrepreneurs occupy, the collaborative partnership that emerges as these lay and clergy roles begin to overlap leads congregational leaders to become innovators, risk-takers, initiators, and instigators across all contexts studied. Generally, this collaborative partnership aligns with the existing research on nonprofit social entrepreneurship and contrasts with much of the existing research on religious congregations and their leadership. This collaborative partnership requires congregational leaders to embrace the inherent tension

[48] Although two congregational leaders may experience the same change in roles, the change can occur for vastly different reasons. In one case that I observed, a lay leader stepped down from active leadership because of criticism from the congregation and a lack of support from the congregation's clergy leader. In another case, a lay leader stepped down from active leadership because the ongoing operations of the social enterprise had been successfully stabilized such that ongoing, active leadership was not necessary.

that exists as the values and behaviors required for congregational social entrepreneurship are not always those associated with traditional forms of ministry. Congregational leaders are not just becoming more "businesslike" but also more entrepreneurial. Lay and clergy leaders appear to be more willing to innovate, initiate, instigate, and take risks than the existing literature on congregations and religious leaders would suggest. At least for the past one hundred years, parachurch leaders and organizations have typically been the vehicles through which Protestant entrepreneurial behavior has been channeled (Eskridge & Noll, 2000, p. 33). So, what has changed? Why are these congregational leaders more pioneering than in the recent past?

The cases of congregational social entrepreneurship included in this research represent a broad array of congregations spanning significant racial, socioeconomic, geographic, and theological divides. The role of congregational social entrepreneur is being embraced across a variety of contexts, not just in certain geographic regions or only in struggling congregations. The implications of this reshaping of roles is critical as it impacts the way clergy and lay leaders understand their place in congregations, their work within religious communities, and their orientation to society at large (Monahan, 1999, p. 92). Schoenherr (1987) notes that changes impacting the clergy role—and the symbolic meaning associated with the role—typically correspond with other, larger changes within religious systems and the contextual environment. So, is this shift related to internal changes within religious systems? Is it that these congregational leaders have embraced a new way of thinking, especially with regard to their theological orientation towards business and/or culture? Or could this shift be the result of changes in the larger contextual environment? Perhaps the embracing of this new entrepreneurial role is a sign

of a national shift that is taking place within American culture towards religion and Protestant Christianity more specifically. Could it be that congregational leaders feel that they must embrace an "ethos of survival," like that of a for profit businesses or parachurch organization (Eskridge & Noll, 2000, p. 37)?

The implications for the questions cited above are many. The social entrepreneurship literature may seek to investigate how collaborative partnerships are formed, why they fail, or under what conditions that they succeed. The findings from such research could benefit nonprofit organizations, especially as they seek to establish social enterprises. Additionally, religious scholarship may seek to further understand the entrepreneurial orientation of lay and clergy leaders. The formation of collaborative partnerships may significantly impact the operations and administration of congregations and their overall effectiveness and orientation towards the community. Accordingly, the implications of this research could impact the way that clergy are formed through theological education and lay leaders are trained and employed in their local congregations.

CHAPTER 3

THE THEOLOGY OF CONGREGATIONAL SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURS

Changes occurring within congregations regarding the role of clergy and laity may result in new ways of thinking (Monahan, 1999, p. 92). Consequently, the narrative reflection in which my participants have engaged not only leads to an examination of self (i.e. role) but also of belief (i.e. theology; Hahnenberg, 2003, p. 217; O'Brien, 2007, p. 217). Like role identity theory, theology relates to the way that individuals form meaning of their experiences within the context of their faith and work.[49] As deBarry (2003) has written:

> [T]heology touches all human enterprise at some point, because it is ultimately a search for meaning. The word "meaning" conveys the notion of intellectual understanding, but in this context it is much more. . . . Theology is the discipline of thinking about linkages, ultimate linkages, the search for meaning and purpose, the religious and divine connection (p. 7).

In this chapter, I explore the theology of congregational social entrepreneurs.

Traditionally, systematic theology has developed logical arguments deductively based upon: 1) biblical sources, 2) the statements and interpretations of religious leaders, and 3) other theoretical religious concepts. In this chapter, however, I do not take a traditional systematic,[50] dogmatic, or apologetic approach to the theology of congregational social entrepreneurs. Instead, my analysis employs a constructive, practical theology. My work is constructive because I am creating theological constructs.

[49] This is a concept known in the literature as "symbolic interactionalism" (Pooler, 2011).

[50] My methodology and analysis are, of course, systematic in nature, but I am using the term "systematic" in its traditional theological sense here.

It is practical because I am inductively building these theological constructs based upon the practical experiences and reflections of congregational leaders who engage in this work. Especially within quickly changing religious environments, O'Brien (2007) has noted the importance of "practical theological research that draws substantively on the minister's [and laity's] own theological reflections" in a respectful way (p. 213).[51]

As has been discussed, my sample of congregational leaders represents a broad range of theological perspectives and Protestant traditions. Accordingly, my participants may only agree to a few commonly held theological beliefs shared among Protestant denominations. Nevertheless, despite the variety within my sample, I have identified three basic theological tennents of congregational social entrepreneurs that hold steady across all of my interivews. These theological tennents are: 1) work is good, 2) business can be good, and 3) business can be ministry. To ensure that I have accurately represented my subjects and to be sure that my analysis has been appropriately grounded, I presented these basic findings to a random sample of my participants. With only minor clarifying suggestions, each participant I contacted agreed to these basic theological tenants.

The methodology I have employed to explore the theology of congregational social entrepreneurs has been inductively grounded in the thoughts, themes, and words of my participants. I have listened to them, their experiences, and the way that they frame their understanding of theology in light of their work. I have built my methodology off of

[51] For more critical approaches to business and Protestant Christianity, see Gloege (2015), Grem (2016), or Kruse (2015). While these are historical (not theological) texts, they nevertheless present a more critical relationship between business and faith. It should also be noted that early proponents of the social gospel were Protestant clergy who railed against unregulated capitalism (Nash & McLennan, 2001, p. 161).

the work of O'Brien (2007), who notes that theological reflection often comes as the result of telling a story and making connections with a larger story of context, faith, scripture, and culture. These connections evoke meaning making and expose individual hermeneutics. This practice is the essence of practical Christian theology, what O'Brien (2007) refers to as "disciplined 'restorying'" (p. 217). As O'Brien (2007) has written:

> The metaphor of *conversation* is increasingly used to characterize discourse in practical theology. A basic assumption is that human meaning making is necessarily an interpretive exercise, and thus requires ongoing dialogue with potential sources for meanings in all facets of existence (pp. 214, 217).

For Protestant Christians, disciplined "restorying" involves making connections with revelatory sources such as sacred biblical texts because the scriptures ground the conversation in a "a disciplined, practical-theological" way (O'Brien, 2007, p. 218).

To examine the theology of social enterprise by Protestant congregational leaders, I asked my subjects to engage in an exercise of theological reflection and biblical interpretation. Specifically, I read two archetypal passages of scripture from the New Testament and after reading each passage asked the respondent the same question, "What comes to mind when reflecting on this passage in light of your involvement with your congregation's social enterprise?" I chose both New Testament passages intentionally as scriptures that could be used to either support or oppose congregational social enterprise. I was especially interested to see how congregational leaders responded to these passages, reconciled their contents, and reflected on the passages theologically in light of their own involvement in social enterprise.

To aid my understanding of these passages, I have consulted historical and exegetical commentaries across Christian history to better understand the way that these biblical passages have been interpreted across time. For an extended discussion of the

historical and exegetical interpretive analysis of these passages, see Appendix D. To ensure that the interpretations of these outside commentators would not directly influence my analysis of participant interviews and to ensure that I would accurately and effectively represent my respondents, I first analyzed participant interviews and wrote the analysis for this chapter before consulting these sources. My goal in this process was to maintain methodological integrity. Following the section below that provides the reader with an introduction to these biblical passages, I provide an analysis of the theology of congregational social entrepreneurs. Here, I have integrated reflections of my participants from both passages.

JESUS AND THE TEMPLE MONEY CHANGERS

The first passage I chose was of Jesus cleansing the Temple. Although the account of Jesus cleansing the Temple appears in all four Gospels, I chose to read the account from the Gospel of Mark chapter 11.[52] In this passage, Jesus enters the Temple in Jerusalem, drives out those who are buying and selling, and overturns the tables of the money changers and those selling sacrificial doves. At the conclusion of the passage, Jesus will not allow anyone to "carry merchandise through the Temple" and scolds the merchants who have defiled this place of prayer and spiritual practice by making it a "robbers' den." As Eppstein (1964) says:

> The story of Jesus' . . . attack upon the tables of the money changers has long served as text for strictures upon those who desecrate the institutions of religion for private gain, the 'commercialization of religion,' and even upon the very principle of trade for profit" (p. 42).

[52] See Matthew 21, Luke 19, and John 2.

As a result, I anticipated that this passage of scripture might have been used to oppose the idea of social enterprise within the congregational setting. I was correct in anticipating that my respondents would express a tension between this scripture and congregational social entrepreneurship.

As one lay leader exclaimed after I read the passage, “Oh, yeah! That’s exactly what people quote.” A clergy leader said, “Oh, I had people quoting that to me, and mailing that to me, and saying, ‘You're doing exactly what's going on in the scripture.’” Because this passage was used so often in opposition to the practice of congregational social enterprise it offers a window into the participants theological approach as they reconcile the contents of this biblical passage with their own experiences. In my following analysis, I reference the passage as “cleansing the Temple,” the passage from the Gospels, or make specific reference to the Temple merchants or money changers.

Because my study of theology relates specifically to the way this passage is interpreted, I will provide a brief history of biblical interpretation for this Gospel account across three major eras of church history: the early church, the reformation era, and modern day. The early church focused their interpretation of this Gospel account on the inherent nature of business activities taking place in the Temple, noting the abhorrence of profiteering for personal gain that took place at the expense of the religiously observant (Jerome, 2008; Oden & Hall, 1998, p. 161).

Most Reformation commentators are concerned with issues of selfish behavior and private inurement, or as Luther (1973) says: those that “serve their own appetites” (p. 237). Reformation commentators focus most of their attention on comparing the abuses of the Temple with the abuses of the Catholic Church. Both Luther and Calvin see Jesus

as a “reformer” whose extreme actions are justified given the abuses taking place in the Temple (Farmer, George, & Manetsch, 2014, pp. 80–81; Luther, 1957). While John Wesley does not focus so much on the business practices as his major concern, Wesley (1987) does note the importance of preserving both time and place for sacred observance.

Modern commentators generally focus on the nature of the Jewish sacrificial system and the corruption of the religious establishment. In contrast to both the early church and the reformation commentators, modern interpreters—on the whole—justify the business practices of the Temple as “relatively innocent trading” (Barrett, 1978, pp. 194, 196–197) and “grounded in biblical precepts” (Keck, 1994, p. 405). The reason that most modern commentators take this positive stance is because they hold that Jesus’ actions in the Temple are not meant to challenge the Jewish sacrificial system, which was ordained by God. Instead, the corruption that modern scholars note is directed either at the religious leadership or those who worship under false pretenses.

PAUL THE TENTMAKER

The second passage of scripture I selected was from the Book of Acts chapters 18 and 20, selected verses. In this scripture, Paul is depicted—like his companions Aquila and Priscilla—as an industrious “tentmaker” who works for a living. In particular, Paul says, “I have never wanted any one’s silver or gold or clothing. You know well that these very hands have served my needs and my companions.” Paul says that others should follow his example so that the poor and weak might benefit by their hard work and generosity. I selected this verse because it appears that Paul is defending and endorsing the concept of earned revenue and because the term “tentmaking” is often used within Christian circles to denote entrepreneurial forms of bi-vocational ministry and social

entrepreneurship.[53] I predicted that this passage might be used in support of the practice of congregational social enterprise and that many of my respondents might pick up upon these positive themes in their reflection. For the most part, I was correct. Although there were a few congregational leaders–mainly laity—that did not immediately make these connections, most of my respondents did pick up on these positive themes. As I have mentioned in Chapter 2, One clergy leader describes his congregation's social enterprise as "kind of our Aquila and Priscilla story." When referencing this passage in the analysis that follows, I will refer to this passage as the "Pauline" passage or refer to the practice of "tentmaking."

As with the Gospel account, I will provide a brief history of biblical interpretation on this passage across the same major eras of church history. The early church was most concerned with Paul's tentmaking as it related to their understanding of manual labor (F. Martin, 2006, p. 223). The early church saw work as inherently spiritual and a reflection of the activity of God (Chrysostom, trans. 1889). Paul's example should be emulated in and among congregations (Augustine, 1887). While the early church valued productivity, the pursuit of worldly gain was considered a vice (Augustine, 1888).

Like the early church, Reformation commentators also expressed concern with the greed and personal profit that can be associated with employment (Calvin, 1847a; Luther, 1967), but overall, the Reformation commentators see work as having a dignifying effect and can promote the possibility of charitable behavior (Luther, 1956; Wesley, 1754,

[53] Bi-vocational ministry refers to the practice where a clergy leader is employed both by a congregation and by an another, outside employer. Bi-vocational ministry has been commonly adopted in congregations that have smaller membership and/or are located in rural settings. For a more in-depth discussion of bi-vocational ministry, see the chapter on "role."

1985). In particular, clergy are called to be industrious and not to be a burden on their congregations (Calvin, 1847a).

Modern commentators debate the role that Paul's tentmaking played in his ministry. Although Keck (2002) holds that Paul's vocation was of secondary importance to his ministry, both Keck (2002) and Barrett (2004) hold that Paul's vocation was an important part of Paul's ministry. By contrast, Barth (2004) views Paul's work as insignificant to his life and ministry and labor done on the "margin of his apostolic existence" and the "fringe of his apostolic instruction" (p. 472). Barth (2004) says that the Protestant understanding of work has been overly influenced by Western economic theory, and, in a sense, is an overcorrection from the lax, self-serving priestly abuses that occurred prior to the Reformation (p. 473). Barth values work, but does not believe that it is efficacious in all circumstances. Barrett (2004) indicates that Barth likely underestimates the significance of Paul's vocational work (p. 864).

Not surprisingly, biblical interpreters—regardless of era—do not focus on the relevance of these passages for the topic of congregational social entrepreneurship. However, their commentary provides helpful context for understanding the theology of congregational social enterprise. Generally, biblical interpreters note the virtue of preserving sacred practices and sacred spaces. Elements such as greed are vices that distract from the worship of God. Productivity is generally understood to be beneficial, and selfish gain is to be avoided. In the section that follows, I will present the theological interpretation of lay and clergy congregational leaders reflecting on the practice of social enterprise.

THE THEOLOGY OF CONGREGATIONAL SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURS

Lay and clergy leaders insist that congregational social enterprise must have robust theological integrity. Interviewing my subjects, I discovered that the passage from the Gospels was used not only by other parties to oppose congregational social entrepreneurship but also that many of my respondents admitted to struggling with this passage of scripture at some point themselves.[54] Noting Jesus' actions in the Temple, one lay leader questions:

> So are we doing the same thing through having for-profit partnerships as a nonprofit church? [Are we] making money off the community that we're trying to reach? [If so,] there's something wrong with that.

Another lay leader describes the process that he personally went through trying to come to a place of peace with regard to congregational social enterprise: "I was trying to figure out whether or not what we were doing was okay or whether it was taking advantage of something that God has given us."

The fact that congregational leaders admit to having struggled with the theology of social entrepreneurship indicates that the theology of congregational social entrepreneurship may not be immediately obvious but is critically important. Participants report going through a process of deep, ongoing theological reflection. In establishing a congregational social enterprise, therefore, leaders not only need a business plan but also a personal and corporate theology of social entrepreneurship. Without an understanding on the part of the leadership of how the enterprise connects theologically within a given belief system, the venture may be doomed.

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[54] For some of my respondents these reflections became deeply personal. One clergy leader says, "[That phrase] "robber's den" just sort of like, hit my heart sort of, in a way that I hope we're not doing, and I'm [wondering] how do we not make it seem that way?"

Practitioners who are considering introducing a social enterprise in their congregation will take note that developing a robust theology of social enterprise may be an important prerequisite prior to introducing an idea for a specific venture. Especially within long established congregations, members will likely need time to process and consider their own understanding of social enterprise from a theological perspective. Helping to facilitate this process may help reduce opposition and also garner support. Referring to the passage from the Gospels, one clergy leader says, "[T]hat's a scripture that . . . every church that ever starts any kind of an enterprise that's going to allow [for] an exchange of money [is] going to have to deal with." A theology of social entrepreneurship has at least three basic theological assumptions: 1) work is good; 2) business can be good; and 3) business can be ministry. These premises are broad enough that they can be easily applied to all leaders of congregational social enterprise interviewed for this study.[55]

WORK IS GOOD

The first theological premise of congregational social entrepreneurs is that work is good.[56] Just as God commanded Adam in the Garden of Eden to be productive and

[55] Additionally, I have tested these theological premises with a subsection of some of the most thoughtful congregational leaders interviewed for this study who have affirmed that these basic theological assumptions apply to their theology and context.

[56] Sancinito (2018) says that Paul's philosophy of work encouraged others to "be productive members of their community. He immediately presents this as the correct way to serve God, but this was also their means to build their reputations as a group, and be viewed as good, honest men, who happened to be Christians, as well" (p. 251). Reformers such as Luther and Calvin also view work as sacred. The reformers hold that even "secular" work can delight God and be performed as a form of worship. As Luther said, "When a maid cooks and cleans and does other housework, because God's command is there, even such a small work must be praised as a service of God far surpassing the holiness and asceticism of all monks and nuns" (qtd. in Ryken, 1990, p. 228). In *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, Luther (2016) writes, "The works of monks and priests, however holy and arduous they be, do not differ one whit in the sight of God from the works of the rustic laborer in the field or the woman going about her household tasks, but all works are measured before God by faith alone. . . . Indeed, the menial housework of a manservant or maidservant is often more acceptable to God than all the fasting and other works of a monk or priest,

hardworking (cf. Gen. 2:15), congregational leaders understand work not as a curse but as a blessing from God. They feel called by God to be industrious through their congregational social enterprise. Through their labor, congregational leaders feel that God invites their personal participation in caring for and cultivating part of God's creation. Reflecting on the way the Pauline passage supports his theological understanding of social enterprise, one clergy leader says: "I think that [passage] even leads great credence to the fact that what Paul was doing making tents was sacred. It was holy. It was right." Similarly, congregational leaders see their work in social enterprise as honorable and virtuous.

Congregational leaders not only understand social enterprise as a sacred task but also as a vocational calling.[57] Discussing his theological perspective, one clergy leader says, "I look at [social enterprise] as being . . . the work that we've been called to do." For this reason, those who feel called to congregational social enterprise express a strong dedication and commitment to the work. Reflecting on his personal theology of congregational social enterprise, one lay leader says:

> [W]e were able to gather around the project, and some of the members were willing to work off hours and without pay and just come and put their hands to the wheel. There were some of us that refused to be paid. We refused to accept the salary, and we said, 'For such a time as this! What we're going to do is . . . commit ourselves to making sure that this thing gets done. . . .' This eclectic group of men and women . . . choose

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because the monk or priest lacks faith." (pp. 81-82). In the "Estate of Marriage," Luther (2002) even says that the changing of a diaper—when done in Christian faith—is work pleasing to God (p. 250). Similarly, Calvin (1994) argued that it is a theological "perversion" to assume that ecclesiastical tasks are somehow more holy than other forms of labor (p. 89). Published in 1603, William Perkins' "A Treatise of the Vocations or Callings of Men" provides a typical reformation summary: "The action of a shepherd in keeping sheep . . . is as good a work before God as is the action of a judge in giving sentence, or of a magistrate in ruling, or a minister in preaching." (qtd. in Guinness, 2018, p. 65).

[57] In medieval times, "calling" was reserved for ecclesiastical ministers and those within religious orders. As Guinness (2018) says, "Everyone else just had work" (p. 64).

> rather not to accept salary but [chose instead] to commit . . . to the project and to make sure that this thing [got] done.

Through their work and vocational calling, congregational leaders become instruments used by God.

This work-related calling draws upon the leader's gifts and the gifts of other leaders in their congregation. Their work provides dignity and an outlet for the use and expression of God-given talents. One clergy leader says that he feels that Paul was a gifted tentmaker because Paul was able to gain customers despite his itinerant ministry. Even in already saturated markets, Paul could set up shop and effectively operate his tentmaking business. In the same way, social entrepreneurship gives congregational leaders the chance to utilize their gifts, resources, talents, and abilities for the kingdom of God. The alignment of these gifts is seen as divinely orchestrated. God brings together a unique group of people with the necessary skillsets for a congregational social enterprise to develop. Discussing his social enterprise, one lay leader says, "I truly believe if we were chosen, we would have the abilities. If we didn't have the abilities, then [God] would have provided us with the abilities."

The use of one's gifts in service of this vocational calling to social entrepreneurship leads congregational leaders to feel a sense of personal fulfillment in their work.[58] Their labor, expertise, time, and strength are viewed as an offering to God. Freely offering themselves in service, leaders experience joy in the work. One lay leader describes his work as a "gift" producing confidence and self-esteem, while another lay

[58] It is important to note that when a congregational leader does not feel affirmed or experiences insurmountable opposition regarding congregational social entrepreneurship, the congregational leader will not feel a sense of personal fulfillment in his or her work. Instead, the leader experiences confusion and discontentment.

leader notes the blessing of "being used by the Lord." Reflecting on the Pauline passage, one lay leader says, "I think that's exactly what the volunteers are doing [in our social enterprise] . . . I think that they will tell you that they get so much more [personally out of their work] than what they're actually providing." Thus, work is good.

BUSINESS CAN BE GOOD

Second, congregational leaders have an underlying theological assumption that business activity is not inherently bad and can potentially be good. As one clergy leader says, "Our interpretation, or mine, is that business is good, and it's the work of the Lord. The church needs to start teaching that . . . business [can be] for the glory of God." One clergy leader argues that business activity can be good in the same ways that food can be good. If engaged in moderation as part of a well-balanced life, business—like food—can be life giving. This clergy leader cites the incredible advances that are taking place in medicine as a result of the generosity of The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. He says that business activity has made these grants possible. Many congregational leaders, therefore, hold that business activity can be good and can be theologically justified within a congregation if those leading the efforts are wise stewards of their responsibilities.

Multiple respondents note that Jesus was an entrepreneur. As a businessman, Jesus learned the trade of carpentry from his father Joseph.[59] These congregational leaders assume that prior to beginning his public ministry at the age of thirty, Jesus worked in the family business. Reflecting on the passage from the Gospels, one clergy leader says:

[59] Jesus was likely a stone mason based on the term (τέκτων) used in scripture (*cf.* Matthew 13:55). Bishop Thomas Becon (1844) also discusses the value of work and Christ's profession as a carpenter, many of the disciples' profession as fisherman, and Paul's profession as a tentmaker (p. 398).

> Jesus was a businessman. If you go back in Palestine 2,000 years ago, his father was a carpenter. He must have learned from Joseph how to sell the merchandise. [When] you look at the language Jesus used [in this passage], we have not looked at it as business language, but Jesus was talking about a business. He was talking as a business person because this [was his] trade.

Some congregational leaders even wonder about how Jesus funded his ministry, especially because his disciples left their professions to follow Jesus (*cf.* Matthew 4:18-22, Mark 1:16-20, Luke 5:2-11). Frequently, Jesus and the disciples take trips across the Sea of Galilee. Describing the small boats used in this journey as the "Uber" of the first century, one clergy leader questions how Jesus was able to afford the fare. Could it have been that Jesus self-funded some of his ministry through business endeavors?

Moreover, focusing their theological reflections regarding the historical role and function of business activity in religious institutions, my respondents note that the Temple in Jerusalem was not only a spiritual but also an economic center. As one lay leader says:

> When you really go back and you study about the Temple, the Temple was the center of the business world. I mean tons of things happened [there]. . . Yes, people came to worship, but people came to buy things. You know markets were around there. They came to that area for education, and they came to that area for local government. It became a real center for things like that.

These respondents hold that within the sacrificial system of the first century, merchants played an essential role. Traveling long distances from their homes to the Temple, pilgrims often needed to be able to obtain an animal for their ritual sacrifice once they reached Jerusalem. Although the role that the merchants occupied was designed to help facilitate this spiritual act, the merchants had forsaken their sacred duty and had taken advantage of their connection with the Temple. This lack of proper stewardship is one of

the primary theological issues being raised with the Gospel passage, according to my respondents. The theological issue was not so much that business activity was present within the religious institution but that the nature and conduct of the business activity was problematic.

WHAT MAKES BUSINESS GOOD OR BAD?

THE RELATIONSHIP WITH CUSTOMERS AND EMPLOYEES

By definition business requires an exchange between parties. Some congregational leaders hold that business can be good because their congregation's social enterprise intentionally puts the congregation in touch with people in its community. As one lay leader says, "If we aren't willing to be business-like in our decision-making, then we're always going to be in an island." A theology of proper business activity begins with a willingness to engage and interact with one's surroundings. Because a congregation will inevitably encounter people in the course of business, a theology of proper business activity includes treating those individuals—both employees and customers—with decency and respect.

The first theological objection about improper business activity that those interviewed for this study note is the way the Temple merchants in the Gospel passage cheated others. The actions of the Temple merchants were inherently manipulative and disingenuous. Interviewees noted that some merchants lied to pilgrims passing through the Temple, saying that the sacrificial animals the pilgrims brought from home were not worthy of God. The merchants would then sell the pilgrims another sacrificial animal, likely of equivalent spiritual value to the pilgrim's own offering. However, the animal

that the merchants sold was often of equivalent spiritual value to those from the pilgrim's home.

One clergy leader describes the poor stewardship of business activity in the Temple like being cheated over the exchange rate in a foreign country. This clergy leader says: "[The Temple merchants were] in a position to take advantage of . . . [traveling pilgrims] coming and doing what [was] required by [Hebrew] law." By cheating these religious sojourners, the merchants disrespected the pilgrim's faith and devalued the pilgrim's humanity. By contrast, congregational social entrepreneurs serve their customers and employees and should not take advantage of them.

In contrast to the manipulative and dishonest business practices of the Temple merchants, congregational leaders say that their social enterprises are places where deep, meaningful relationships can form. As one lay leader describes the respectful relationship that she enjoys with her customers, "People leave [our social enterprise] feeling respected and wanted and pretty happy with how they were treated. I think it just fills them with self-respect, too. . . ." This theological mindset means that interaction with the customer often continues after the financial transactions take place. In one thrift store, a lay leader interviewed for this study indicates that she will often ask individuals purchasing clothing for a job interview to come back and tell her how the interview went. As one clergy leader says, "We're not taking advantage of people. We're talking about making provision for people."

Through these relationships, many congregational leaders see their work as empowering others, especially the poor and marginalized. One lay leader who launched a Fair-Trade retail store in her congregation indicates that purchases from her

congregation's social enterprise provide needed resources to those in underserved areas around the world. She sees her work as empowering and extending human justice to these artisans. Another clergy leader, in his thrift store, says that he recently had an interaction with a female customer who had recently obtained a new job requiring her to dress professionally. Because of her socio-economic status, this woman would not have been able to afford professional attire from a typical retail store. The clergy leader says that this woman has been empowered by having an opportunity to purchase quality clothing at below market rates from his congregation's social enterprise.[60] Additionally, while a congregational social enterprise may employ volunteers, congregational leaders feel that paid employees should receive a fair wage for their work. As one clergy leader says, "I think we're putting people to work, and they're working. You know [it's an] honorable trade . . . and the money that we [take in is] being used to help people in ministry."

THE RELATIONSHIP WITH MONEY AND PROFIT

The relationship that the congregational leader has with money and profit may also determine if the business is theologically good or bad. Reflecting on both the Gospel and Pauline scripture passages, one clergy leader says, "The 'right-relationship with money' question is an important one for Christians and for churches. . . . What is [the] right relationship with money? Is it a tool? Is it a gift?" Certainly, a theology of proper business activity means that the focus of the social enterprise is not primarily about the money that can be generated from the business venture. Congregational leaders see income as a tool. In this way, money is a means, not an end. If the social enterprise is

[60] This theme is similar to the instructions Sephardic Jewish philosopher Maimonides (1979) proposes for giving. Maimonides says that the highest form of giving is to promote another's self-sufficiency.

designed in such a way that it is primarily driven by profit or inherently taking financial advantage of others, then the business activity will be theologically corrupt. As one lay leader says, "[The practices of the Temple merchants] obviously destroyed [and] weakened the moral aspect of the organization by turning it into nothing more than money-making opportunity."

Across the board, the congregational leaders interviewed for this study say that the focus of the congregational social enterprise needs to stay on the intended ministry impact and not the income that can be generated from the social venture. Admittedly, congregational leaders sometimes struggle with the balance between the two extremes. A focus on ministry while engaging in business requires sincere dedication and constant evaluation. As one clergy leader says:

> There are times when we get bogged down in the business. We're talking nuts and bolts about running thrift stores and all of this stuff. And every once in a while we have to stop even in our board meetings and go: 'You know what? Can we just take a moment and talk about why we do this? Because we're talking about stores. We're talking about merchandise. We're talking about dollars. Let's pause for a moment and talk about people so that we can refocus.' I think that's probably something that church ministries . . . involved in business enterprises every once in a while just need to do. Why are we doing this? Why do we run this [social enterprise]? . . . Because if we don't, then people become secondary to what we're doing.

Some congregational leaders have specific persons who are part of their governing board to ensure that the congregational social enterprise stays focused on its mission and not exclusively on the financial profit that can be generated.

Respondents do not necessarily hold that making a profit is objectionable. The Pauline passage may indicate that there is a precedent for a religious leader making money through a business venture. Reflecting on the Pauline passage, one clergy leader

says, “I could see some . . . person in Corinth saying, ‘Paul, if you love Jesus, you’d just give those tents away.’ I’m sure Paul made a good tent, and I’m sure it was expensive! I mean he wasn’t [making] tents for giggles. . . . He [was] making tents for money.” The theological issue regarding profit, therefore, arises when prices are raised unreasonably in order to gouge the customer. This form of transaction is theologically offensive. When reflecting on the Gospel passage, respondents raise theological objections about the merchant’s profiteering. The Temple merchants took advantage of religious requirements for their own selfish gain. Many respondents take particular issue with the impact that these actions had on the poor and marginalized. One clergy leader says, “[T]he profiting off of individuals that had no choice . . . [is] absolutely offensive.”

For this reason, generosity is a key theological tenant of congregational social entrepreneurship and proper business activity. Many congregational leaders indicate that they not only avoid overcharging their customers, but also often give away more than they receive. Just as Jesus was quoted in the Pauline passage saying, “It is better to give than receive,” the leadership of congregational social enterprises see their work as a service to the community that adds value instead of taking it away. One clergy leader says, “[When] I think . . . [of] our end of the day or end of the year metrics, it is really not the number of sales that we have but what we’ve put back into the community. We are a giving ministry not a receiving ministry.” This clergy leader goes on to describe how fundamental this “giving perspective” is, not only to his theological understanding of social entrepreneurship but also to the everyday operations of his social enterprise. The clergy leader says that his congregation’s social venture would not have the same committed volunteer base if the congregation’s social enterprise were primarily on what

it could gain financially. For this same reason, one lay leader describes her congregation's social enterprise as "purely a giving act." Another clergy leader says, that the money that is generated through his congregation's social enterprise is used to subsidize the congregation's operational budget (utilities, etc.) so that more of the voluntary donations that come from the congregation's offering plate can be invested immediately back into the community. This clergy leader says:

> One of the goals from the very beginning was [to see] if we can free ourselves up from church. We're paying money to maintain the church building. We're paying money in all kinds of brick and mortar things. What if we could lighten the load on that so that more money that comes in goes back out?

Again, another clergy leader says:

> There hasn't been a whole lot of teaching about stewardship . . . in recent years. It's been about 'shoulds and oughts.' I'm trying to instead teach that generosity, and the practice of generosity, is a core practice of Christian community, and we expressed that individually and we expressed that as a parish. And I see the [social enterprise] as an expression of that at its best.

Some leaders indicate that their social enterprise donates excess or unused products or items to others, either in their community or in third world countries.

THE RELATIONSHIP WITH "WHAT" IS BEING SOLD

In order for business to be good, congregational leaders note the importance of what is being sold. The goods or services that are provided as a result of a financial transaction can determine if the business of a congregational social enterprise is good. In particular, congregational leaders contend that there are theological problems with commoditizing spiritual experiences. Reflecting on the passage from the Gospels, respondents take issue with the fact that the goal of the money changers was not actually to help facilitate a religious experience. As one lay leader says, "Of course, Christ

himself knew that that [practice] was only enterprise. That wasn't ministry. That was business at its worst because it occurred where spiritual development was supposed to happen." Some congregational leaders make a point not to sell anything associated with the church. Interestingly, one clergy leader feels that more traditional congregational fundraisers are more improper when compared to their congregation's social enterprise. While the social enterprise is in a different part of the church's facility from the sanctuary and does not operate during worship, congregational fundraisers can take place throughout the building and during worship. Reflecting on the Gospel passage, this clergy leader says:

> Well funny enough, I think less about the [social enterprise] when you read that passage and more about the fact that when you came out of church yesterday there were two tables and four people begging [from them]. . . . Can you get out of church without being hit up for something?

The individuals that the clergy leader describes were raising money for youth missions, receiving pledges for the congregation's annual stewardship campaign, and soliciting volunteers to serve at a community lunch gathering. For this clergy leader, commoditizing a spiritual experience is what is more theologically objectionable when compared to social enterprise.

The Temple money changers at best impeded and at worst prohibited the worship of God and the spiritual growth of the faithful. For this reason, one clergy leader says, "If anything that we did in the church . . . took advantage of people, . . . made it harder for them to see Jesus, [or] put any kind of a barrier between them and God, [that] would be an abomination." The Temple merchants functionally operated as gatekeepers selling access to God and obstructing the worship of the faithful. They put a price tag on what was intended to be a spiritual experience.

THE RELATIONSHIP WITH EVALUATION, GOVERNANCE, AND INTENTIONS

Discussing business ethics, Hill (1997) refers to accountability as not only an economic principle but also a theological concept (p. 92). Because there is inherent power in the practice of social enterprise and because any activity can be corrupted, all congregational leaders interviewed for this study suggest that they must engage in ongoing evaluation of their social enterprise and employ robust governance to ensure that their business activity is in line with both ethical and theological standards. One clergy leader says that he engages in this evaluative process not only for his congregation's social enterprise but all areas of ministry. He says:

> I think that every individual church ministry is going to have to take a look at that and ask themselves, 'Would we violate this principle? Would Jesus be as angry with us as he was with them if he walked in here?' I can't make that call for somebody else, but I do feel comfortable that we haven't recreated that kind of a situation [in our congregation].

Many see their leadership within their social enterprise as a form of theological stewardship. As one lay leader says:

> What Jesus did that day was drive out people who were trying to take advantage of that situation. That's what I realized was the most important part in all of this . . .[that is,] being a wise steward of what God has given us.

Congregational social enterprises have the opportunity to set a good example through their business activities for the community at large. Not only does the social enterprise reflect on the congregation, but also congregational leaders feel a Christian responsibility to conduct their business above board. As one clergy leader says:

> I think the integrity of our business needs to be higher than anybody else because we are saying openly that we are Christians and that we stand for this [business of the] kingdom.]And we [must] be examples.

These business practices include paying a decent, living wage to employees, ensuring that products are sustainably sourced, and that profit is properly used. Congregational leaders express the necessity of being transparent in all forms of business activity. Some congregational leaders feel that denominational oversight offers an additional level of transparency to the social enterprise.

A theology of proper business activity not only includes right actions but also proper motivations and intentions. As one clergy leader says:

> [I]t's so easy for us to move from doing something for all the right reasons to doing them for all the wrong reasons. I think that that tension . . . will come back if we take that scripture seriously. We'll come back to that. Are we doing this because it's good for the kingdom or are we doing this because it makes us money?

Congregational leaders insist that the mission and vision of the social enterprise must be kept at the forefront of all decisions related to the business. Moreover, some congregational leaders suggest that they would even change vendors if they found that a vendor did not share the same values as the congregation. If these principles are upheld, business can be good.

BUSINESS CAN BE MINISTRY

The third main theological tenant of congregational social enterprise is that business can be ministry. The reformers rejected a firm divide between sacred and secular (Ryken, 1990, pp. 24–25). Calvin (1994) says:

> It is an error that those who flee worldly affairs and engage in contemplation are leading an angelic life. . . . We know that men were created to busy themselves with labor and that no sacrifice is more pleasing to God than when each one attends to his calling. . . (p. 89).

The ministry of the congregational social entrepreneur is one of service, both to God and to the customer. As one lay leader says, "We are . . . serving Christ and the people that are coming in the store." Some congregational leaders go so far as to describe their ministry of social enterprise as a form of "worship." Responding to the Pauline passage and describing the way he thinks theologically about his congregation's social enterprise, one lay leader says, "The Jesus Christ I worship is most effectively worshipped out where the human activity is occurring and sometimes where it's not occurring but should be." A congregational leader functions as an agent of ministry within the social enterprise and often uses ministry language to describe this role. Again, reflecting on the Pauline passage, one clergy leader describes a theological conversation with a retired lay leader in which they discussed the lay leader's role and identity in the enterprise:

> Clergy Leader: Martin, tell me what you do.
>
> Lay leader: I'm a manager.
>
> Clergy Leader: That's not going get you up in the morning . . . . What are you?
>
> *Reluctant to speak, Martin writes the word "pastor" on a piece of paper.*
>
> Clergy Leader: Yes, you are the pastor . . .

Here, we see that the clergy and lay leader share a common theological understanding that their actions serve as a form of ministry. In this way, business can be ministry. Typically, congregational leaders center their theology of business as ministry around two basic concepts: *building community* and/or *bettering community*.[61] I will discuss each

[61] It is important to note that these theological approaches are not mutually exclusive and can both be present to varying degrees within a single congregational social enterprise. Additionally, these themes

of these in turn before discussing how and when congregational leaders feel that business can interfere with ministry.

THE MINISTRY OF BUILDING COMMUNITY

Business can be ministry as many congregational leaders utilize their social enterprise to build community. Certainly, a congregation serves as a community in and of itself, and the social enterprise can function as a ministry forming a stronger sense of internal community within the congregation. However, most all of the congregational leaders interviewed for this study see the ministry of their congregational social enterprise as a means to expand community of their congregation, not remain cloistered. Outside of worship, congregational leaders see one of the core purposes of the congregation's internal gathering to be a time of prayer and preparation for the members to scatter into the world. One lay leader says, "The church is supposed to be out there. . . . It's not supposed to be in here anyhow, . . . and it goes out to where there are tent-making . . . operations. . . . That's where [the church] is." Congregational leaders understand their congregation's social enterprise as a ministry tool to expand the reach of the congregation by forming relationships with others and, in the process, to build community.

The ministry of building community is based upon a deep love for others and a divinely inspired motivation to engage the world. In the same way that God has loved the world (*cf.* John 3:16), many congregational leaders are driven to establish their congregational social enterprise by a sincere love for people.

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will be further explored when discussing the motivations of congregational social entrepreneurs in Chapter 4. See footnote 91.

Reflecting on the Pauline passage, one clergy leader says, "[Congregational social enterprise is] what I'm compelled to do because of my love for humanity." Additionally, congregational leaders believe in a divine mandate to engage others in meaningful relationships. Just as Jesus commanded the first disciples to "Go!" in The Great Commission (*cf*. Matthew 28:18), congregational leaders feel compelled to interact with the world and build a larger community. The ministry of building community occurs as a way for the congregation to be more connected with those in its surroundings and/or as a means for evangelism.

The theology of business as ministry for some congregational leaders is simply about building community through relationships with others, regardless of their faith affiliation or religious commitments. Commenting on the Gospel passage, another clergy leader says:

> Clearly, I don't think the [social enterprise] is turning the worship of God into a den of thieves. I think [our social enterprise provides] opportunity for a number of things to happen for [our] community to be built, people to be served, and wider connections to be made through grant-making.

The main theological rationale here is simply to be a Godly presence in the marketplace. One clergy leader says, "Paul is right there with the community. I think from the generosity perspective, that's the heart of our church." For this clergy leader, his theological rationale is not about forming relationships so that others will become Christian. Instead, he sees the social enterprise as a way to build deeper connections in the community. The social enterprise allows the congregation access into the community that it would not have otherwise. Discussing the Pauline passage, one lay leader says, "God gave [Paul] the ability to make a living and to get into other people's circle. I don't know if he realized that making tents was supposed to do that for him." The business of

congregational social entrepreneurship is good because it serves as an entry point into the culture for congregational leaders to build community. The Apostle Paul built community by building relationships on areas of agreement, not disagreement. One clergy leader picks up on this theme as he discusses the Pauline passage, saying:

> [Paul] seems to lead with what we have in common. He leads with some kind of, 'Let's talk about these things that we agree on.' . . . That right there is part of why I love this. We can partner with our city in so many ways. . . .

This clergy leader says that he builds community to see the way that God can use these connections and conversations. It is not, for him, an active source of evangelism. This clergy leader continues, "I love that stuff because I don't have to push them. We all get it. We're on the same page already."

Some congregational leaders see the ministry of congregational social enterprise as means for evangelism, a way to bring others to salvation in Jesus Christ. One lay leader contrasts the ministry of his congregation's social enterprise with the merchants in the Gospel passage who stood between the people and God:

> My initial reaction is the project is about bringing folks to Christ. That really is the driver. . . . These worldly decisions that we have to make involving . . . business are a necessary step to achieve that larger mission.

Some congregational leaders see their social enterprise as a ministry that enables them to share the message of Jesus with others through their business interactions. As one lay leader says, "The marketplace was [Paul's] entry point into that culture and then talked about this greater exchange that wasn't just dollars and cents. . . ." The social enterprise allows for there to be a reason—unrelated to evangelism—for an interpersonal relationship to first form.

Discussing the Pauline passage, one lay leader indicates that Paul's ministry of tentmaking was divinely inspired and gave him an opportunity to make connections with others through his business.[62] He says, "I like the way God led Paul to take what he did and to use it for the kingdom work. He's a tentmaker, so a natural connection with others of that trade." The Apostle Paul used his business connections with fellow tradesmen and his time in the marketplace (agora) as a means to support the underlying mission of his ministry. In this way, the social enterprise serves as a tool to advance the gospel. Business can be ministry as community is built through evangelism.

THE MINISTRY OF BETTERING COMMUNITY

Business can also be ministry when congregational leaders use their social enterprise to better their community. Congregational leaders better their community by providing resources to marginalized groups of people, making grants to community organizations, providing meals to underserved individuals, or improving the local economy or housing. Responding to the Pauline passage and reflecting on his congregation's social enterprise, one lay leader says, "[Our] efforts . . . focused [on] the spirit of that passage. I think that we did give a lot of time and effort to make something happen for the greater good." I was surprised when so many of the congregational leaders indicated that if their congregation's social enterprise brought in more income, the congregation would not increase the amount it receives for the church but instead increase its giving back to the community. Reflecting on the Pauline passage, one clergy leader says that this verse describes "exactly what we're trying to create, promote, and

[62] Sancinito (2018) says "work is a means to help Christians integrate into their communities, appearing as contributing members of society" (p. 250).

establish" in creating a congregational social enterprise. He goes on to say, "We give back. . . [because] the church is the only institution in the world that exists for the benefit of nonmembers." Similarly, a lay leader from a different congregation in the process of establishing a social enterprise notes the change in perspective of his congregation, from serving themselves to serving others:

> We're going from an island to live in the middle of the village so that we can better serve those people in the village. Because living on the island, . . . we were serving ourselves not others. We are changing that model.

This theological understanding of business as ministry through service to others is intended to better the community. It is motivated by caring for people and concern for neighbor. One clergy leader cites the cross as an example of his "theological and . . . historical understanding" of social entrepreneurship: "What does the cross mean? It means living selflessly, caring for others, and the [social enterprise] is a great micro example and macro example of what that looks like." When engaging in theological reflection, congregational leaders cite passages like the parable of the Good Samaritan (*cf.* Luke 10:25-37), in which Jesus is answering the question "Who is my neighbor?" One clergy leader says:

> [As] the Good Samaritan would tell us . . . : 'That is our neighbor; The one that we're able to help; That's our neighbor.' The church, I believe, has become a pretty . . . ungracious neighbor. She's fine being where she is and doing what she does, regardless of the condition of this humanity that circumferences her. While I don't judge that type of church, I do look at that type of church and say that I'd like to be a part of administering a church that is categorically different than that model of church.

WHEN BUSINESS IS NOT MINISTRY

Business is not ministry when the business interferes with sacred acts or creates a barrier for others to encounter God. Many of the congregational leaders interviewed for

this study focus their theological reflection on the way that economic activity may serve as a "barrier" to those who come to a sacred space to worship God. As one clergy leader says, "That's why Jesus was mad [in the Gospel passage], not that they were selling things. . . . In Mark 11, those folks selling the doves . . . and changing the money were a barrier for the folks that couldn't afford it. . . ." Economic activity, then, can corrupt a sacred space if the activity creates a barrier to sacred acts of worship. The congregational leaders interviewed for this study note the importance of maintaining "free" access to God. All of those interviewed for this study believe that creating an economic system whereby an individual must pay to meet with God is abhorrent. As one clergy leader says:

> [Our thrift store] . . . is not a barrier for anybody to have an encounter with God. I actually see [it] as means of . . . grace, in folk's lives. . . . When folks are down and out, and they need help, . . . we are there and sharing [God's] love. . . . Now if we said come to our [thrift store], and in order to worship with us, you have to make a purchase, now I've got a problem because that is a barrier.

Judeo-Christian worship has historically corresponded with the practice of sabbath, a time in which the faithful cease from work and economic activity. Therefore, many respondents are careful to note a clear line of demarcation between the sacred acts of worship and what happens in their social enterprise. As one clergy leader says, "On Sunday morning, if everybody comes into work out those business conversations, then we've had a miss." The clergy leader goes on to say that if the congregational leadership sets business conversations to the side, a realignment occurs: "We leave those conversations to the side. We take a Sabbath from that."

One clergy leader goes so far as to say that economic activity can disrupt a service of worship like a commercial interrupting a television show. Not only does the

commercial focus attention on the sponsors instead of the program but also, and just as importantly, the commercial disrupts the flow of the show's plot. Robert Webber (2008) has described Christian worship as getting lost in God's story in a way that remembers the past and anticipates the future. Theological problems occur when a social enterprise disrupts the flow of this sacred plot. According to one lay leader, controversy erupted within her congregation when members of the congregation began to complain about the "noise and distraction" that the social enterprise created for their service of worship. The complaint was not merely because some individuals felt inconvenienced. They complained because the interruption served as a distraction from the sacred act.

Echoing the biblical instruction to focus one's attention solely on God (cf. Deut 6:13; 10:20, Lk 4:8), Martin Luther writes of Christian worship "that nothing else be done in it than that our dear Lord himself talk to us through his holy word and that we in turn, talk to him in prayer and song of praise" (qtd. in Brunner, 1968, p. 123; WA 49, 588, 15-18). Inherently, commercial exchange during worship pulls the focus of the worshipper away from God. One clergy leader says:

> To put business around it, the worship part, can create some problems. . . . I think that some of the pitfalls are: the more you think about money, the more difficult it is to think about God; and the more that you think about God, the less interested you are in money. And so, finding a way for . . . people to have the freedom to think singularly about God and his presence is pretty crucial because we have such a world that these things are interwoven.

The social enterprise should facilitate, not hinder, the sacred acts of the congregation. For this reason, one clergy leader says that by maintaining a clear and central focus on God, the social enterprise functions as a means to an end as it fosters and encourages the ministries of the congregation.

If, however, the social enterprise becomes an end in and of itself, then respondents express concern. Focusing on the economic activity of the social enterprise alone creates a disequilibrium. One clergy leader describes this imbalance as the natural superseding the spiritual:

> I never have viewed that [scripture] as the church shouldn't make money because I know it takes money to do ministry. So, my problem with that is you've allowed things to get out of kilter. You don't care about the spiritual. You care more about the natural, more about the monetary. . . . That [in the scripture] was out of priority. That was, 'We're coming to church to make money even if we have to compromise what should go on in here spiritually. . . .' [Jesus] wasn't against so much the money part, because Jesus talked about money more than he talked about hell, which is shocking. But it was the fact that you've got this thing out of order. . . . [T]he reason it became a den of thieves [is because] it stopped being a house of prayer. . . .

Accordingly, this clergy leader holds that "the business" cannot be the master that the congregation serves. Theologically, God must be the first and singular priority. For this reason, one clergy leader says that his congregation will not conduct business on Sunday morning or anytime the congregation is worshipping.

Depending on the theology of the congregational leader, business may not be ministry when the business interferes with sacred space of the congregation. For all respondents, the location of the social enterprise is immensely important. A leader's theological perspective will often determine a venture's proximity to a sacred space. Because individuals may come from different theological perspectives, the discussion about a social enterprise's placement can produce controversy. One lay leader describes her congregation's social enterprise as "hidden" in the church. She says, "Even the spot within the church was a big debate because [some] didn't want to have it too close to where the sanctuary was. . . And then of course just the whole attitude of we just don't

want business in our church." By and large, respondents understand the congregation's sacred space—especially the sanctuary—as a set-a-part location for worship, prayer, and spiritual formation. This is not to suggest that spiritual acts cannot or do not take place in the business setting. They do. Nevertheless, most of the leaders interviewed for this study represent congregations that maintain a theology that supports a separate space other than the business setting for the worship of God.

The theological rationale for having the social enterprise in an area other than a sacred space is based upon a fear of commercializing sacred areas. As in the biblical passage, respondents are careful never to commercialize "access to God." Access to God, they maintain, should never be bought nor sold by anything other than "the blood of Christ." As one clergy leader says:

> I looked at the fact that what we're doing [at our congregation] is really in tune with that scripture [because] the sanctuary—the place which is holy to us where we have a meeting with God as a congregation—is totally set apart from all of the [economic] works [of our social enterprise] and anything else that is taking place in the community.

Therefore, the proximity of business to sacred space is an important theological consideration for many congregational leaders. As one clergy leader says, "If you want to buy something anywhere near our worship space, you can't." For this same reason, another clergy leader describes the location of his congregation's social enterprise as being in the middle of the Judean desert far away from the Temple in Jerusalem.

For some, conducting business in a sacred space is both theologically inappropriate and missionally inconsistent. Many congregational leaders indicate that the theological rationale for launching their congregational social enterprise is to either interact with their community or improve it in some way. This outward focus indicates

that there is an element of their theological understanding that is inherently missional. The reason—for many—to have a social enterprise is to create a bridge between the congregation and the world. For this reason, one clergy leader describes hosting a social enterprise within the sacred space of his congregation as simply being "out of context" because "the whole point [of the social enterprise] is being in the community outside of the church." To host the social enterprise in a sacred space would be theologically inconsistent based upon their missional rationale.

Coming from a different theological perspective, some congregational leaders do not separate their sacred space from the business environment. These leaders choose to host their sacred acts of worship in their social enterprise that is located in the community. For them, the missional rationale is not to ask the world to come to a cloistered, set apart sacred space but instead to take their sacred acts of worship into the world incarnationally. Interestingly, sacred spaces can function as a barrier between those in the world and God. One clergy leader describes the hesitancy of individuals to come inside of his congregation's building:

> You know there was something about coming inside the [church] building. It was almost like, I am just not worthy to come inside the building because that is a church. [The building has] a kind of aura that makes some people kind of uneasy. We had to really go out of our way to make people feel welcome, to let them know this is a warm and inviting place. . . .

If the social enterprise is designed to create a connection between the congregation and the world where community outsiders feel uncomfortable coming inside of the congregation's facilities, congregational leaders must either make people feel more comfortable in their facility or take their sacred acts to where the people already are. In one setting, those interviewed for this study indicate that they use the congregation's

social enterprise—a coffee shop—as their congregation's primary place of worship. Two-to-three times a week, this place of business is converted into a sanctuary with worship songs, preaching, and Holy Communion. Here, these congregational leaders are not so much bringing commercial activity into the sacred space as they are intentionally taking sacred acts into the place where commercial activity occurs. Coming from this theological perspective, some congregational leaders defended this practice by referring to the Apostle Paul who often went to the marketplace to preach. As one clergy leader says:

> [Paul] went to the agora. He went to the marketplace. The marketplace was his entry point into that culture, and then [while there, he] talked about this greater exchange that wasn't just dollars and cents, but instead [the kingdom of God].

Sacred space can also become a barrier for the congregation to interact with the world. In one case, a clergy leader says that his congregation's internal focus resulted from an exclusive concentration on the congregation's building. He describes the affinity of his members towards their iconic structure as "worship." This congregation became fixated upon their unique and beautiful architectural façade and lost touch with the members of their community. This clergy leader says that Jesus' challenge to the merchants, money changers, and religious leaders in the biblical passage was not only because of their dodgy economic practices but also because their focus had exclusively become what happens in the sacred space. Therefore, this congregation is tearing down their iconic structure and rebuilding it as the center of an economic and residential community. By doing so, the congregation acts upon the theology expressed by the leader, connecting the faithful with the world.

CONCLUSION

The theology of congregational social entrepreneurs begins with the concept that work is good, moves to an understanding that business *can be* good, and ends with the understanding that business *can be* ministry. While these three basic theological tenants are held by all of my respondents, the specific manifestation of this theology is far from monolithic. The theology of congregational social entrepreneurs is an individualized expression of their personal beliefs about God, ministry, and the world. For instance, the way that the social enterprise interacts with sacred acts or sacred space is a reflection of the social entrepreneur's individual theology. Similarly, the degree to which the social enterprise "builds community" or "betters community" may depend on the theological orientation of the social entrepreneur.

The qualifying phrase "can be" reflects my participants' belief that business is not always good nor is business always ministry. While work, productivity, and fruitfulness are considered sacred, business is not—on its own—holy or efficacious. However, under the right conditions and regulated by the utmost respect for personal religious principles and Christian morality, lay and clergy leaders understand congregational social enterprise as a vehicle that can be used as an expression and instrument of ministry. Realizing the conditional nature ("can be") of these theological premises means that congregational leaders must remain vigilant, aware of the possibility that the social enterprise can be corrupted.

The theological orientation of my participants is not static. Some interviewees expressed initial objection—even theological objection—to the idea of congregational social enterprise. Expressing his own opposition to congregational social enterprise early

on, one clergy leader says that his own assumptions and "confusion" about what was being proposed caused him to hesitate. Therefore, before becoming comfortable with a theology of congregational social enterprise, objectors may need to receive a more complete explanation, to engage in theological discussion, or to participate in practical experiences with the enterprise (see Chapter 5 on Experiences).

In the cases where congregational leaders have experienced opposition to the idea of congregational social enterprise, opponents have not shared one or more of the three basic theological tenants described above. While my case selection excludes those currently opposed to congregational social enterprise, many of my respondents have either faced opposition to congregational social enterprise or were formerly opponents themselves. The theological focus of these counternarratives appears to be generally related to objections that are either ethical, hermeneutical, missional, and/or practical.[63]

First, ethical detractors raise moral objections to congregational social enterprise saying that the activity is somehow improper, while not directly referencing biblical or theological sources. As one lay leader says, "[Early on,] I was trying to figure out whether or not what we were doing was okay or whether it was taking advantage of something that God has given us." Second, hermeneutical detractors raise objections to congregational social enterprise while specifically referencing biblical or theological sources. They may read and interpret key scriptures differently than other congregational leaders, which is a cause for their concern. Ultimately, a hermeneutical complaint is

[63] For a discussion on the distinction and connections between morality (or ethics) and theology, see Laird et al (1927).

rooted in the theological supposition that God would find the activity in some way objectionable.

Third, missional detractors express concern that the business and/or money of the social enterprise will in some way distract from the main mission of the congregation. Finding the congregational social enterprise to be either radical or unconventional, they ask how the social enterprise fits within the congregation's current operations or vision for ministry. Fourth, practical detractors raise objections about financial cost, past failure(s), the veracity of the expressed need, disruption to the facility (or the church member's routine), unmitigated legal or financial risks, or personal or congregational inconvenience. These skeptics may be resistant because the congregational social enterprise breaks from tradition ("We've never done it that way before!"). Alternatively, the objectors may be simply confused about the project, its intent, or ongoing management. Future research could interview detractors to more fully understand their objections, counternarratives, and ultimately their theological orientation.

My study suggests a strong correlation between a congregational social entrepreneur's theology, motivations, understanding of the community, and ultimately the social enterprise itself. First, although further research is needed, the theology of the congregation's leadership may likely be the single greatest predictor of the underlying motivations for the social enterprise. A connection exists between the theological understanding of the leadership and the intended impact of the enterprise. With theologically more evangelistic congregational leaders, the social enterprise often functions as a way to form new relationships with members of the community for the express purpose of evangelism. With congregational leaders that are more social justice

oriented in their theology, the social enterprise is often focused on improving the lives of those in the community or raising awareness about a societal need. Thus, the congregational social enterprise functions as an instrumentally expressive tool rooted in the theological orientation of the leadership. It is important to note that these concepts of forming community (the evangelistic end of the spectrum) and bettering the community (the social justice end of the spectrum) are not mutually exclusive. Some congregational leaders possess a theology that holds these motivations in tension. Accordingly, they describe their motivations reflecting both values.

Second, the theology of the congregation's leadership takes into account the unique features of the community surrounding the congregation. Wineburg (1994) has written that "a congregation's style of operation is profoundly influenced by its social context, especially the local community context" (p. 162). Typically, the theology of the congregational leader is integrated in such a way to reduce barriers or bring closer connection between people and God, and the type of social enterprise that a congregational leader decides to pursue often reflects the community in which the congregation is situated. For instance, while leaders of a congregation in an upscale neighborhood launched a trendy coffee shop with specialty drinks, the leadership of a congregation near a major university established a coffee shop with a much more student union feel. Leaders of congregations in a densely populated urban setting leverage their congregation's location and undeveloped land to build high-rise structures in keeping with their setting. The leadership of a congregation near a large high school caters to high school students by establishing a restaurant specializing in sweet pies and pizza pies. The leadership of congregations in rural, impoverished communities launch a thrift store or a

centralized social service complex to meet the needs of the underserved. Describing his congregation's approach to congregational social entrepreneurship, one clergy leader says, "That's how community is done [in our area]."

There are, of course, practical reasons for this unique, incarnational connection between the leader's action and the congregation's location. To be viable, the enterprise must be contextually appropriate and meet a need within the community. However, the theological reflection of congregational leaders goes one step further. For instance, one clergy leader opened a social enterprise pub in a city with a large number of breweries, saying:

> [I]f I could design something, I would design a church that had multiple franchises. Churches of forty or fifty people that were unique to the unique communities that they were planted in. A coffee shop, a book reading club, whatever. In [our city], we have all of these very well-defined communities. I would love to see within each of those well-defined communities, a church that was a specialty shop. . . . A pub in [our area] is like a restaurant in any other city. . . . This is our community. This is the city that I'm in. . . . There've been a lot of people that have come to visit since we've opened that have said, 'Hey, I want to do something like this.' What I always try to communicate is: 'Well, where are you looking to do this? Find whatever keys to your community there are. What is your community already doing? Partner with that. If it's a kite shop, then open a kite shop and find some way to interact with your community.' It just so happens that we're in a neighborhood where this building exists where we have the ball room up here that we can do amazing things with it. . . . This replicated in suburban [area] or rural Ohio probably wouldn't work.

The reason that this clergy leader ends by saying that his entrepreneurial model would not work in a different setting is not only because of practical but also because of theological concerns. Notice the way that this clergy leader specifically encourages others to look for the "keys" to their communities. Beyond viability, the theological orientation of this clergy leader suggests that his work and ministry should be incarnationally relevant to his community. Therefore, the social enterprise not only reflects the general theology of the

congregational leader but also the way the congregational leader reflects theologically upon the community itself. Congregational social enterprise becomes a lived theological artifact reflecting the unique ministry of the congregational leader and his or her community setting.

The question remains whether the theology of congregational social entrepreneurs is causal early on during the development of the social enterprise, or if it is mainly a discourse that congregational leaders use to render their actions intelligible *post hoc*. Admittedly, the majority of my participant interviews took place with congregational leaders after they had launched their congregational social enterprises. Thus, their reflections were retrospective. However, I was surprised to hear how developed the theology of social enterprise was, especially among my participants who were in the initial planning stages. This sub-sample of participants constituted eleven percent of my total cases. I found theological reflections of these participants theologically intentional, deeply thoughtful, and robust. For instance, while simply responding to the first question of my interview protocol designed to establish context ("Will you tell me about your congregational social enterprise?"), a clergy leader in the initial planning phases of his project discussed the connections between his theology and actions:

> We realized we're not going to build a skyscraper in our city. But from that came the idea of what if we were able to build a mixed-use development. The church would serve as the anchor, kind of like the theology when Jesus met the woman at the well [John 4]. She didn't go to the well to meet God. She went to get a drink of water. It was an everyday kind of thing. When she did that, she found God. That's kind of our vision: How can we build wells?

Without directly prompting this clergy leader, my participant began to frame his understanding of congregational social enterprise through a theological lens. Therefore,

in addition to documenting the narrative theological renderings of social enterprise by congregational social entrepreneurs, I propose that there is a correlation between the theology of the congregational social entrepreneur, their motivations for action, and the community itself. The congregational social enterprise becomes a lived expression of the individual's theology, values, beliefs, and faith.

Theology is an orienting feature for congregational social enterprise that serves as an individual marker of identity and purpose. Future research may determine how well these findings hold among generations of congregational leaders in the same setting. For instance, does a change in leadership correspond with a change in theological orientation or action? Scholars may also seek to establish the nuances of theological orientation between different religious traditions. Future studies could investigate how the theology of the congregational social entrepenur is implemented into the the congregational system. Questions for future researchers might include: How does the pursuit of congregational social enterprise influence both the culture and theology of the congregation's membership, not just the leadership? Does the leader's theology begin to emanate from the leadership to congregation as a whole? Or does it only remain with a selct few? Irrespective of this causal role, however, the narrative theological reflections I have documented in this chapter are essential for the leader's personal and the congregation's organizational self-understanding and identity.

CHAPTER 4

THE MOTIVATIONS OF CONGREGATIONAL SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURS

What motivates congregational social entrepreneurs to take action? When I first began this study, I anticipated that congregational leaders would be motivated to start congregational social enterprises because of declining revenue based upon growing levels of religious disaffiliation (e.g. Lipka, 2015; Hout & Smith, 2015; Kosmin et al., 2009). I suspected that in establishing congregational social enterprises lay and clergy leaders were seeking to diversify their revenue streams and "make up for" lost income from traditional revenue sources such as the offering plate. What I discovered, however, was a much more complex and textured set of motivations.

Congregational leaders are motivated by many drivers. Certainly, in some settings, a general need expressed within the congregation (such as a concern for revenue) or a need within the community (such as child hunger) drives congregational social entrepreneurs to action. Yet, these general motivations are on the whole more contextual and auxiliary in nature. Instead of primarily or singularly motivated by a need (demand) that the congregation has or an asset (supply) that the congregation possesses, congregational social entrepreneurs are driven to action by their religious identity (faith, belief, vocation) and the religious mission of their congregations.

This chapter explores these leading motivations as expressed by lay and clergy leaders. The manifestation of these leading motivations for congregational social enterprise challenge the existing nonprofit literature, offering a more complex understanding of the third sector with regard to both faith and social entrepreneurship. To

this end, I place this chapter into conversation with a widely used conceptual model of nonprofit activity proposed by Frumkin (2002). I suggest an overlapping conceptual model in which the leading motivations for congregational social enterprise are a form of "instrumentally expressive" ministry.

The topic of motivation is of critical importance because it addresses the underlying question of "why" an activity takes place. In the nonprofit literature, motivating forces have commonly been described in terms of demand or supply. Beginning with Weisbrod's (1975) foundational paper entitled "Toward a Theory of the Voluntary Nonprofit Sector in a Three-Sector Economy" (see also Salamon & Anheier, 1998, p. 220), scholars have understood that the failure of government and market forces creates an unsatisfied *demand* that is filled by nonprofits providing for the public good (See: Hansmann, 1981, 1987; Weisbrod, 1975; Anheier, 2014, p. 203; Ott & Dicke, 2012, p. 25; Frumkin, 2002, pp. 20–21). However, the demand for services will never be met unless a *supply* of talent, interest, and resources is present.[64] In addition to the demand which exists, the nonprofit sector emerges because a supply of individuals is motivated to impress upon society their understanding of the public good by expressing their values, advocating for change, and offering needed social services (Young, 1983; Salamon, 2012, pp. 19–21).[65]

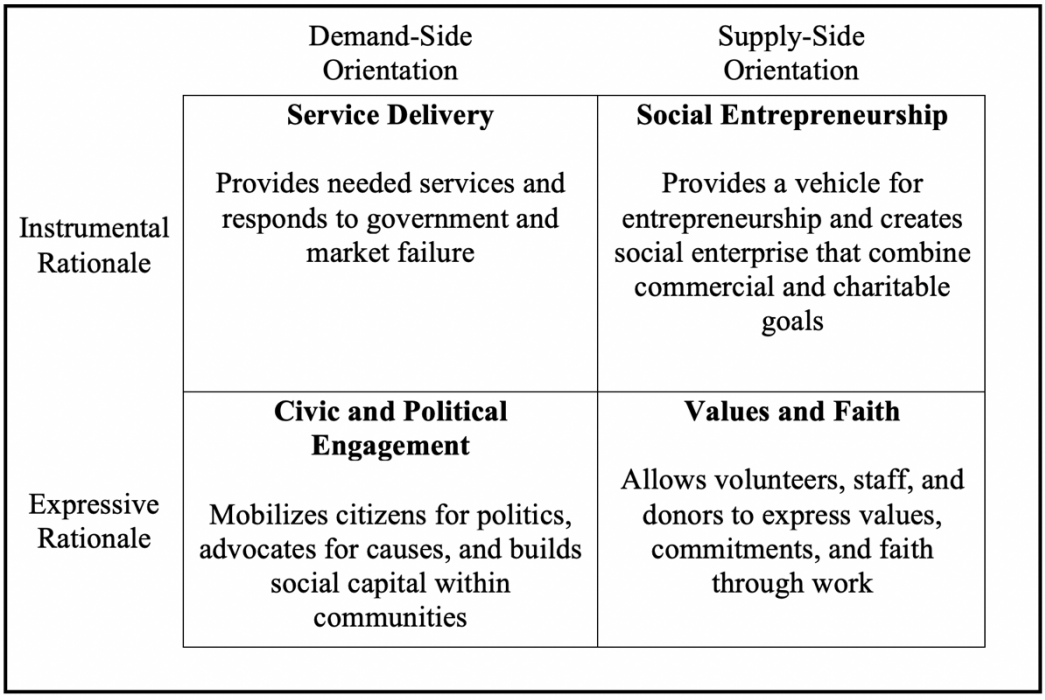
[64] As Frumkin (2002) explains, "[The supply side approach] explains the rise of nonprofits not by looking at large amorphous phenomena such as government or market failure, but rather by looking into the minds and hearts of individuals. It asks questions about individual values, personalities, and skills, and then strives to explain how these traits come to be mapped onto nonprofits in many different ways. Instead of starting with the question of what public needs exist, the supply-side approach points in the opposite direction." (p. 136).

[65] Frumkin (2002) categorizes "values and faith" and "social entrepreneurship" under the supply-side designation.

By adding a second expressive vs instrumental axis to the notions of supply and demand (Figure 4.1), Frumkin (2002) proposes a unified theory of the nonprofit universe by simultaneously explaining what drives nonprofit activity and prescribing how it is conducted. According to Frumkin's (2002) two-by-two matrix, "Social Entrepreneurship" is located in the supply/*instrumental* quadrant while "Values and Faith" is located in the supply/*expressive* quadrant. Frumkin (2002) defines the instrumental designation by analogy, like a tool that makes work more efficient and productive as it is used to accomplish a task with concrete outcomes and external, objective measures (p. 22-23). Social entrepreneurship falls here, according to Frumkin (2002), because it combines the supply of a nonprofit leader's ingenuity and creativity with an instrumental task. The social entrepreneurship quadrant spans the for profit and nonprofit sectors by exposing the nonprofit to market forces as "a way of financing aggressive growth agendas" and as a "second source of revenue" (pp. 27, 135, 146).

By contrast, the expressive designation speaks to the manifestation of personal values that are built upon the "expressive urge" of individuals and that emerge from highly institutionalized organizations or cultures such as congregations. (Frumkin, 2002, p. 23). When viewed from the supply perspective, this is where Frumkin (2002) places "Values and Faith." As the nonprofit sector is often where individuals demonstrate their beliefs and actualize their convictions, this quadrant not only includes organizations such as congregations and faith-based institutions but also the individual expressions of donors and volunteers who cite their moral, philosophical, or religious beliefs as the inspiration behind their voluntary commitments.

Figure 4.1: The Four Functions of Nonprofit and Voluntary Action, (Frumkin, 2002)



Although there is some difficulty in measuring and at times documenting expressive activities, values and faith undoubtedly constitute one of the most important elements of the third sector. For instance, in 2017 religion received 31 percent of charitable financial donations—more than twice as much as the second highest nonprofit subsector, according to Giving USA (Lilly Family School of Philanthropy, 2018).[66] This evidence speaks to the undeniable impact that values and faith have as a motivation for nonprofit action. Values and faith often animate voluntary behavior and serve, as Frumkin (2002) says, as "the engine of nonprofit activity" (p. 97). Frumkin (2002) also

[66] Giving USA's (2018) definition of giving to religion excludes many non-congregational faith-based nonprofits such as health care, educational, and social service institutions. Another study entitled "Connected to Give" has found that when the definition of religious organizations is expanded and donors are asked to categorize their donations, 73 percent of total annual charitable giving goes to religious organizations (McKitrick, Landres, Ottoni-Wilhelm, & Hayat, 2013).

notes the "wholistic approach" that faith-based nonprofits tend to take by briefly alluding to the fact that faith-based nonprofits and congregations can provide a variety of activities and functions like health care and social services (pp. 117-118).[67] However, Frumkin (2002) does not provide a detailed analysis of the ways that faith can permeate the different quadrants of his model, specifically with regard to social entrepreneurship.

Frumkin (2002) admits that the distinctions made in his model are often "complex and difficult" (p. 20).[68] He presents his framework as a continuum on which organizations can fall at various points between the purely expressive and purely instrumental extremes (p. 125). Frumkin (2002) does not present the expressive and instrumental designations as necessarily in conflict with one another;[69] however, he recognizes that these two designations contain inherent tensions (p. 23). Frumkin (2002) says that "gulf between" expressive values and instrumental, profit-driven motives often require a "big tradeoff" (p. 125).

While Frumkin (2002) does acknowledge that the expressive and instrumental designations can co-exist in an ideal world, his conceptual framework presents them as more often distinct and non-overlapping. While a person's religious or moral commitments may inspire his or her work, Frumkin (2002) does not conceive of social

[67] It is possible that these activities might otherwise fall in some of Frumkin's (2002) other quadrants.

[68] Frumkin (2002) does note the "highly creative and personal" nature of social entrepreneurship and that "entrepreneurs are attracted to endeavors that fit their personalities, skills, and expertise" (p. 132).

[69] Frumkin (2002) ultimately defends a balancing of the four quadrants (p. 96). For instance, he says that the ideal nonprofit would "simultaneously deliver services, advocate for policies that are important to the community, express values through a unique and individualistic mission, and generate funding streams through the creative use of commercial ventures" (p. 178). He continues by noting that "virtue in the nonprofit sector lies in moderation and balance among the four functions" (p. 180).

entrepreneurship as a purely expressive vehicle.[70] What is missing from this literature is an examination of social entrepreneurship that serves an expressive function and blurs the fine lines between the instrumental and expressive categories.

Although not specifically referencing the intersection of social enterprise and faith communities, Mason (1996) has understood the expressive dimension of the nonprofit sector as related to the production of "direct gratification" and "intrinsic rewards" such as love, enlightenment, loyalty, truth, and religious feelings (p. 2, 4).[71] By contrast, a purely instrumental focus points to "indirect gratification" and "extrinsic rewards" where the nonprofit activity functions as a tool to produce a product, similar to Frumkin's (2002) analysis (pp. 2, 4-5).[72] Mason (1996) has seen the nonprofit sector as a "complex primordial stew," holding that organizational ends and means do not need to be separate or distinct (p. 3). Within an expressive understanding of the nonprofit sector, an organization's ends and means can be one and the same (pp. 1, 11, 14). Mason (1996) has referred to the "double-benefit" nonprofit that merges instrumental and expressive qualities, arguing that religious institutions often combine the expressive and

[70] Perhaps the closest that Frumkin (2002) gets to a discussion about the connection of social entrepreneurship as an expressive vehicle is in his explanation of Young's (1986) model of entrepreneurs as pure types. One of these types is the "believer," which Frumkin (2002) describes as "an entrepreneur who has a strong commitment to a cause and formulates his plans so as to advance a particular moral, political, or social cause" (p. 133). However, Frumkin (2002) does not acknowledge congregational social entrepreneurship or congregational social entrepreneurs more specifically as categories of investigation or inquiry within this typology.

[71] Mason (1996) says that the expressive "need not seek anything beyond itself for gratification" and is without the need for "extrinsic reward" (p. 4).

[72] Mason (1996) says that different people in the same organization or participating in the same activity can approach the activity with an instrumental or expressive motive (p. 6). Nonprofit motives "mix expressive and instrumental outputs. . . . [T]he general complexity found in the nonprofit sector often attracts people who enjoy juggling many things at once or who have a holistic way of thinking that allows them to embrace complexity. These people have to find their satisfaction in the doing of work for they usually cannot know precisely where they stand in terms of tangible accomplishment" (p. 16).

instrumental dimensions of spiritual affairs and public services (pp. 9, 13). When the expressive and instrumental are blended, Mason (1996) has described this category as the "expressive edge of the marketplace" (p. 10). Could it be that congregational social entrepreneurs occupy this frontier between the instrumental and expressive categories? The answer to this question lies in the expressed motivations of congregational social entrepreneurs in the research sample.

To engage the topic of motivations, I asked my respondents directly to tell me why they chose to pursue their congregational social enterprise. To ensure that I also captured contextual motivations that may not have been part of my subject's direct responses, I also asked questions about what led up to the establishment of the congregational social enterprise, why they chose to pursue their congregation's specific venture, where the idea came from, what type of impact they hoped the congregational social enterprise would have, and what inspirational sources led them to their work. Finally, when coding my interview data, I also looked for any instance in which my respondents described their motivations without being directly prompted.

LEADING MOTIVATIONS

Congregational leaders are motivated by a variety of factors. From a demand-side perspective, general motivations include a need expressed by the community or a need perceived in the congregation. From a supply-side perspective, general motivations include resources such as skilled volunteers, access to financial capital, and valuable property.[73] However, these general motivations are secondary to the more basic, leading motivations for congregational social enterprise. Leading motivations include: 1) that the

[73] I discuss these general motivations in Appendix E.

vision connects with the *religious identity* of the congregational social entrepreneur, and 2) that the vision aligns with the *religious mission* of the congregation.[74] In contrast to the general motivations that are more contextual in nature (see Appendix D), these leading motivations span interviews and speak to the heart of why congregational leaders indicate that they establish social enterprises within their congregations. While I acknowledge the importance of the general motivations, I find that the essence of a congregational social entrepreneur's motivation is more clearly expressed with these leading motivations. Empirically, these leading motivations occur with a greater level of frequency across all interviews. In the section that follows I present the leading motivations cited by congregational leaders in establishing a social enterprise.

THE RELIGIOUS IDENTITY OF THE SOCIAL ENTREPRENEUR

First, the vision for the social enterprise connects with the religious identity of the social entrepreneur. Congregational leaders are motivated by a common understanding that the vision for the social enterprise comes from and is sustained by God. Congregational leaders may realize this divine inspiration either in the initial planning for the social enterprise or in reflecting retrospectively on the social enterprise's development. When asked about the motivation for his congregation's social enterprise, one clergy leader says, "God just gave us a vision." Another clergy leader says, "I believe in the vision. I believe it's a strong vision that God has given us." Yet another clergy leader says, "What's the alternative? I mean God gives you a bold vision. I think you have to follow that and just trust." Feeling that the vision for a congregational social

[74] As the reader will discover later in this chapter, the religious mission is fulfilled by entering the community (providing presence in the community), building community (developing relationships in the community), and/or bettering the community (develop a network of supportive care and/or evangelism).

enterprise is from God instills deep passion and tenacity within congregational leaders and motivates them to action. In the midst of substantial congregational opposition or poor financial performance, congregational leaders who believe that the vision for the social enterprise comes from God persevere. In one case, the congregational social entrepreneur indicates that God spoke to her in a dream about establishing a thrift store through her congregation. This lay leader persevered through considerable congregational opposition and setbacks to gain approval from her congregation to launch and operate the social enterprise. Although a most of the staff in another congregation did not support a clergy leader's vision to start a coffee shop, the clergy leader persevered because he felt that the vision was from God.

The connection that a congregational leader makes between the social enterprise and a divinely inspired motive often serves as a litmus test for the social enterprise's credibility. When one clergy leader discussed his vision for a congregational social enterprise with his mentor, the mentor said, "The only question I have is: Is it holy?" The clergy leader continues,

> That's what [my mentor] wanted to know. Is this from God? Is this something that's holy? . . . And that's the way he framed it. . . . "Is this something that God has put in you?" That was the right question because that was the only real important one. I definitely sensed [the answer was] yes.

If there is a shared affirmation that the motivation comes from God, the leadership may face less resistance from the congregation's membership and denominational authorities during the social enterprise's development.

An understanding that a vision for congregational social entrepreneurship comes from God is the result of prayerful discernment, retrospective reflection, conversations

with trusted advisers, a feeling of divine confirmation based upon events that transpire, or in one case a literal dream. Through retrospective reflection, a congregational leader may cite either positive or negative events as confirming the will of God. In addition to a stated motivation for their action, this form of reflection also is the participants' way of explaining their behavior. In some settings, positive events motivate the leadership to feel that God is providing for the social enterprise. As one clergy leader says:

> There've been too many confirmations, too many doors opened. . . . [There were] so many others of those classic, miraculous, missionary-type stories. We needed a check for this, and then, [it] showed [up]. . . . [Y]ou see that, and you start living through that, and operating in that. It's fun and it doesn't feel risky anymore. It's like, "I wonder how God is going to get us out of this one.

In this way, positive events serve as a motivation confirming and affirming that the pursuit of congregational social enterprise is efficacious and in line with God's will.

In other settings, congregational leaders understand negative events such as opposition and resistance as a sign of divine confirmation motivating the leader. As one clergy leader says:

> There [are] trying moments, but . . . when we look in the scripture, it seems whenever God does something that's worthwhile, there's resistance. We've come to believe that resistance is just affirmation that we're on the right path. . . . I even had one of my building members say, she knew we were on the right track when so many people left. It's like there were some folks that needed to leave in order for this to be done. To her, that was an affirmation. It took me a while to get there. . . . That's a bold statement that she made.

In other settings, negative events may cause the leadership to question if the motivation for social enterprise is actually from God. As one lay leader says:

> [T]here [are] moments where you say, "Is it going to work? Have we misheard God?" . . . But every time we look back, it has to be of God because none of us could have done this. The church can't do it on its own.

> The city can't do it on its own. The developer couldn't do it on its own. We've come across a number of landmines throughout this process.

The closer the perceived connection to a divine calling, vision, or command among congregational leadership, the greater the level of commitment the congregational social entrepreneur senses towards the cause.

Many congregational leaders frame their understanding of the social enterprise's development as a miraculous series of events that God brought together motivating them to stay the course.[75] A lay leader says:

> [E]ven right now before [we've begun construction,] . . . the church paid . . . $1.1 million-$1.2 million for the property. . . . And that property right now is valued somewhere near $2.8 million. So, the church went from [having] nothing to being a millionaire, and it's just by the grace of God because the property wasn't even for sale. And [our consultant] just saw and pointed at it and said, "I wonder if that's for sale," and [our pastor said], "Well, I know people in town who can talk to them." And it wasn't for sale, and [our pastor] negotiated it. . . . Before you know it . . . we just saw God work a miracle.

In this way, the motivation for congregational social enterprise can be a miraculous, seemingly divinely inspired series of events. Therefore, the first leading motivation for congregational social enterprise is that the vision comes from God.

Respondents indicated that they are motivated by a sense of connection between their personal faith and their involvement in social enterprise. One lay leader makes a personal connection between her congregation's social enterprise and her own spiritual formation by saying that her service in the social enterprise is one of the primary ways

[75] Sometimes congregational leaders go so far as to indicate that the specific location of the social enterprise is ordained by God. One lay leader says, "Yeah. Trust me. We did not pick this place. . . . I feel like this is where God wanted us. So, when people ask us about the next [place we will establish a congregational social enterprise], I go, 'I don't know. Wherever God wants it. . . .' Yeah, God is in control." Sometimes, congregational leaders indicate that their present location is not where they would have first chosen; however, these leaders are motivated to remain in their present location because they feel that God led them to it.

she fulfills her baptismal vows to seek and serve Christ. This lay leader says that there is a direct tie between her involvement in the social enterprise and her own sense of spiritual development. Saying that she invests more of her time in her congregation's social enterprise than any other charitable endeavor, another lay leader comments, "I guess [I'm involved] because of my faith and my belief in the good things that we can do as a church. That motivates me. . . ." Another lay leader says that he is motivated by the way that the social enterprise has resulted in a "growth of faith" as his congregation has seen "miracles . . . along the way." The connection with personal faith is so strong that one lay leader indicates that the pursuit of social enterprise is a fulfillment of a biblical mandate to care for the poor, and another says that her involvement in congregational social enterprise is a fulfillment of her baptismal vow to seek and serve Christ with every human interaction. Many lay leaders ascribe a sense of deepening faith formation to their involvement in social enterprise.

Similarly, clergy leaders also cite the connection with a personal sense of religious vocation. One clergy leader describes his motivation for social enterprise as an opportunity to test his faith and the faith of his congregation. Likewise, another clergy leader says that he is particularly aware of the way that God can use congregational social enterprise as a means to foster deeper and more personal faith among the laity of his congregation. He says:

> What I have tried to do . . . is show [the lay members of the congregation] that God can work [through] these things. What if I didn't have those safeguards in place for you? What if I didn't have someone saying, "I'll back you [financially] up to the tune of 'X' amount of dollars?" What would you do because you've seen God at work? What would you do?

Therefore, a connection between personal faith and social enterprise motivates many congregational leaders, both lay and clergy.

THE RELIGIOUS MISSION OF THE CONGREGATION

Second, congregational leaders indicate that their pursuit of social enterprise is related to the fulfillment of the congregation's underlying religious mission. With very few exceptions,[76] those interviewed for this study see their congregation's social enterprise as a form of ministry—both an instrumental tool for the accomplishment of a ministerial goal and an expressive action that is deeply connected to the congregation's underlying mission. Speaking of his congregation's social enterprise, one lay leader says:

> It's obviously a ministry. . . . [We] realize that it is God's restaurant. Everything is [God's]. . . . You know, you're only successful because God is successful. . . . Being used by God daily is obviously super exciting.

For this lay leader, the connection between the congregational social enterprise and his personal understanding of ministry extends to the point that he understands that there is divine ownership of the social enterprise. As a result, this lay leader understands the success of the social enterprise as directly tied to the provision of God for the ministry. So, the motivation for congregational social enterprise often derives from the leader's explicit connection between the social enterprise and the leader's understanding of ministry. To this end, congregational leaders express three primary motivations when discussing the ministry aspects of their social enterprise: entering the community, building community, and bettering the community.

[76] In these very rare cases (only two locations total in my sample of congregations), the congregation's activity is related to renting its property or facility to outside groups. The proceeds from these ventures, however, are used to support the religious mission of the congregation, which the leadership does cite regularly.

Each of these missional motivations stems from an understanding of the congregation and its social enterprise as an open system. As has been established in Chapter 2, open systems theory describes the influence that an environment can have on an organization (Scott & Davis, 2015, pp. 31, 88, 106). By contrast, closed system theory holds that organizations can operate independently and be disconnected from their environment (p. 31).[77] The difference between open and closed systems is defined by the boundary established between the organization and the environment (p. 96). Although some congregations have been shown to operate as open systems (Koch & Johnson, 1997; Roozen, 2016; Wineburg, 1994), many congregations have been described as homogenous, closed systems, mainly serving the internal needs of members (Bass, 2004, p. 78; Koch & Johnson, 1997, p. 356). In contrast to much of the literature on congregations as closed systems, congregations that operate congregational social enterprises function as open systems deeply connected to their environment.

Open systems role-set theory is a subset of open system theory focusing on the interaction between organizational leaders and their environments. Koch and Johnson (1997) have used open systems role-set theory to examine congregational leadership by identifying two classes of congregational leaders: those that engage the community (open systems) and those who retreat from it (closed systems). Roozen et al. (1984) have found that congregational leaders are ill equipped to interact with their environment and need training to bridge the gap between the congregation and the community. In contrast to

[77] Closed systems theory has largely been supplanted by open systems theory. Scholars find that organizations are never completely disconnected or totally insulated from their environment (Scott & Davis, 2015, p. 111). The use of closed systems theory here is not intended to suggest that congregations that operate as closed systems are not influenced by their environment. Rather, the inclusion of closed systems theory is intended to demonstrate the orientation of some congregations away from their communities.

this literature, congregational social entrepreneurs operate with an open systems mindset. It could be that one of the reasons congregational social entrepreneurs may encounter opposition when establishing or operating a congregational social enterprise is that, while the congregational leader is functioning with open systems motivations, the congregation's membership may be operating with a closed system motivation. The interaction between these systems creates tension and conflict. The sections that follow address each of the open systems missional motivations: entering the community, building community, and bettering the community.

ENTERING THE COMMUNITY (PRESENCE)

Some leaders are motivated to develop a congregational social enterprise because it aligns with the religious mission of their congregation to enter the community and establish a presence within it. Like an open system, the establishment of a social enterprise functions as a way for the congregation to create a common, third space that can be used by members of the congregation and the community alike. One clergy leader describes his motivation for establishing a congregational social enterprise as offering his congregation the chance to be "one step closer" to the community. As one lay leader says:

> [Before we established the social enterprise], the church didn't have an outreach into the community. . . . I don't know if [our social enterprise] was actually supposed to start breaking down those barriers and those walls, but it sure did!

With a physical presence either outside of the congregation's walls or a space where the community is welcome within the congregation's facility, the congregational social

enterprise breaks down real or perceived barriers between the congregation and the world.[78]

Leaders indicate that congregational social enterprise allows their congregation to enter into the community more naturally than would be possible otherwise. One clergy leader says:

> I've always seen it as a challenge to get outside the walls of the church and [our social enterprise] gave us the perfect opportunity to get outside, to encounter people in a different environment, and be able to [come into] contact [with] people that we normally would not come into contact with. . . . And so, it gives us the opportunity to take our faith outside the walls, to put it into practice, and to do the things that we need to do as a church.

The "things that we need to do as a church" references the ministry opportunities that this clergy leader sees as a result of congregational social enterprise. In this way, leaders understand their congregation's social enterprise not only as an opportunity to draw those from the community into the congregation's sphere of influence, but also as a way to draw the congregation's membership out into the world. The goal of this open system is for the congregation to enter the community reducing the barriers between the church and the world. As one clergy leader says, "I think that the whole mission of the church is outside the church, and if you can't get outside the church, you can't carry out your mission to make disciples and help people."

Congregational leaders indicate that the social enterprise functions as a mechanism for the congregation to become more integrated within the community surrounding it. As one clergy leader says, the social enterprise is not just about being "in

[78] Similarly, Evans and Boyte (1992) say that voluntary associations "stand between" the private and public and are the "nexus between work and the world" (pp. 115, 185).

the community." It is a matter of "being part of the community."[79] Similarly, another clergy leader says:

> We have to be in this community, but we can't just be a building on the corner that says, "Anytime somebody feels welcome, they should come by and stop in. . . ." I hope that what we're learning is that we need to be a part of this community.

In this way, congregational leaders desire for their social enterprise to become an epicenter of community engagement. One clergy leader describes his congregation's motivation as being the "center of the community, of all things spiritual." Through their social enterprises, some leaders envision their congregations reclaiming the central space that the American church held within society for many generations. An exchange with one clergy leader illustrates this motivation:

> Respondent: Part of the inspiration was . . . in America and Europe . . . [where] the church was at the town square and things were right around the church. [What we are doing is] just getting back to that vision of what [a] truly . . . community-based church could look like.
>
> Interviewer: It becomes a parish, literally?
>
> Respondent: Absolutely, in the heart of town. . . ."

Accordingly, the lay leader from this same congregation describes his motivation for social enterprise:

> We're going to be in the heart of [a new business development], and the intent is that [this community is] going to be our new core mission field for people who work, live, play, and eat there. . . . That's our vision. Even when we do have a campus, we're not building a lot of education space

[79] Another clergy leader expresses a similar perspective, framing his motivation for congregational social enterprise by describing a shift to a "new kingdom economy" in which the concern is less about the congregation and more about the community. He says that this perspective may be counterintuitive because it puts the community's concerns above that of the congregation. Starting with a concern for what is best for the community (a theme covered more extensively below in the section *bettering the community*) has, according to this clergy leader, made a tremendous difference in the underlying orientation, motivation, and practice of the congregational social enterprise as it enters the community.

> because we want to stay out in [the community]. That's part of the vision that we're trying to live into.

Likewise, another clergy leader says, “I would like to make a destination place for [for the elderly in the mornings,] the kids on the way home, and for college students that want to hang out and grab a cup of coffee later in the afternoon.”

Therefore, congregational leaders are motivated to create congregational social enterprises because of their understanding of the religious mission of the congregation like an open system entering the community to establish a presence. Leaders express genuine curiosity about their communities and a desire to engage with those who are part of the community. One congregational leader even describes his social enterprise as the “space between the parish and the world.” Another lay leader describes her congregation’s social enterprise as the “public face of the parish” providing the congregation the opportunity to “interface with the wider community.” Congregational social enterprise functions as a point of connection between the congregation and the community that surrounds the congregation.

BUILDING COMMUNITY (RELATIONSHIPS)

Congregational leaders discuss their motivation for social entrepreneurship as aligning with the religious mission of their congregation to create a space for relationships to form and community to develop. Here, the motivation is more than just being a presence in the community. The motivation is to build community by establishing connections between people as an open system. As one clergy leader says, congregational social enterprise “create[s] a different economy . . . that creates connectivity with a large community.” Another clergy leader says, “We need to find ways to develop friendships

and relationships with people that may never agree with us [and] that may never accept Jesus." Yet another clergy leader says:

> Preaching is still a very important . . . passion that I have. But the development of relationships! I have never found a tool that helps me do that more than [our social enterprise]. People are not going to invite you into their home for hours on end. They just won't; [however,] The people that come into [our social enterprise] on a regular basis, I spend between five and eight hours a week with them face to face. The relationship that we build is phenomenal.

One clergy leader describes his congregation's social enterprise like a "civic commons" designed to create community so that relationships can flourish.

Some congregational leaders reveal that the reason that they are motivated to build community is that their congregation has lost touch with the community. Internally, a loss of community means that there are not many, deep relationships within the congregation. Accordingly, one clergy leader hopes that by establishing a congregational social enterprise his members will realize that the congregation is not just a physical structure but a community of people. For him, the relationships that form are paramount. Similarly, a lay leader notes:

> I just felt like the church was approaching everything from such a wrong perspective. . . . [It was] like we're saying we're supposed to be the light of the world, but we're not doing anything [other] than having church services and checking boxes of things we've done . . . to make sure that we stay right with God. And so, for me, . . . a lot of it was . . . I love God, I love people, and [I wanted to] connect those two.

Therefore, some congregational leaders are motivated to build community out of a desire to regain deep, internal relationships within the congregation.

More commonly, however, the relationships that need to be restored are not within the congregation but outside of it.[80] As a closed system, congregational leaders feel that their congregation has lost touch with the external community in the city or neighborhood surrounding the congregation. As one clergy leader says:

> [Over a twenty-year period,] we lost half the church. [It was] just the slow denominational decline. Looking back at that with our congregation, what we think really happened was at some point in that time, the [community changed], and the church didn't adapt.

A lay leader from the same congregation describes the congregation's facility like that of a desert island. He says:

> We're across the street from a substantial mall, [the] biggest [and] most modern, high-end mall in [our] area, . . . [and] we're in the corner of two main roads. [But] nobody walks into the church that isn't a member. They only come, if they belong. . . . We don't have walk-in traffic, and we are effectively an island. . . . The church is an island, and we never have anybody going . . . [or] coming by to see us and talk with us. And if we can't have that happen, then how are we ever going to become a better, more effective church?

As an open system, congregational leaders are motivated to form social enterprises to build relationships with those in their community. The social enterprise becomes a bridge between those in the congregation and those in the world.[81] As one lay leader says, his congregation's social enterprise allows the congregation to use its "assets to do

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[80] One of the unique ways that congregational leaders establish relationships through their social enterprise is by forming partnerships with others in the community. These partnerships include relationships with government entities, commercial vendors, businesses, nonprofit institutions, and other religious congregations. Speaking of the motivation behind his congregational social enterprise, one clergy leader says, "We wanted to create a place where we could actually partner with anybody and everybody who's trying to do good in our city. That's kind of I guess the short of where it came from."

[81] In particular, the social enterprise can create the environment for relationships to form across socio-economic boundaries. Multiple congregational leaders discuss the way that the congregation's social enterprise gives the congregation contact with individuals that would otherwise not have entered the doors of their church. As one lay leader honestly confesses, "[The social enterprise] really opened my eyes . . . [and] broke down barriers between people that I kind of walk across the street to avoid."

something that [will] help with community development" and "really help foster relationships in the community instead of just having a building that [grows] relationships that were already inside [the congregation's] walls . . . ." By building relationship with those in the community, congregational leaders become integrated with the community and become one with the neighborhood. One lay leader says, "So, we minister in the neighborhood. And my family, we live here in the neighborhood. And so, a lot of the issues and the struggles are our struggles."

Congregational leaders cite a number of reasons why they are motivated to establish relationships with those in their community. First, some leaders are motivated to establish relationships simply out of a desire to offer Christian hospitality to their community. Here, the social enterprise functions as a welcoming, non-threatening place of belonging. As one lay leader says:

> So we envision that it is a space where certainly all are welcome and encouraged to come. It's a space where people can feel safe and loved, accepted for who they are and can have real connection with people, real conversation.

A clergy leader describes being motivated by Benedictine principles of hospitality where members of the congregation treat everyone as they would Jesus Christ, with respect, dignity, and love.[82] The clergy leader says, "That was the philosophy in the hotel. It was the philosophy in the coffee shop." Another lay leader refers to her congregation's social enterprise as a place that brings people together, a "third space where you feel at home and invested."[83] In this way, congregational leaders see the social enterprise as a form of

[82] For a full description of St. Benedict's notion of hospitality, see Pratt (2011).

[83] Another lay leader says, "I think really when it comes down to it, we hope peoples' lives are transformed through feeling that sense of God's love in that space one way or another and that could look

ministry, providing a welcoming, accepting environment. One clergy leader says that he has intentionally talked to the regulars who are in his congregation's coffee shop about ensuring that new customers to the coffee shop feel welcomed and loved. He says, "[W]hen somebody else walks in that's not necessarily part of the regular group, how do we embrace them? How do we make them feel comfortable?"

Christian hospitality through social enterprise extends to all people, even those without a faith background. The expressed goal for the congregational leaders who emphasize hospitality is not necessarily overt proselytization or even conversion. As one clergy leader says, "[The social enterprise] is not a gimmick to just add to our church . . . . How do we really build genuine relationships with the people there and just be good neighbors in the process." For this clergy leader, the act of being in relationship with his customers is sharing the love of Christ. In this way, many of these leaders are simply trying to establish a place where others feel welcomed and are offered the possibility for friendly conversation and meaningful interpersonal relationships to form. As one clergy leader says:

> My mother always [asks,] "So, when do you talk to them about Jesus? You get them in the [restaurant]. You've got a captive audience. . . ." [I respond,] "No. We just say hi to them. We get to know what's going on in [their lives]. . . .

While the clergy leader is careful to note that he does not hide the fact that he is a pastor or that the social enterprise was birthed out of his congregation, this clergy leader says that he is motivated to form relationships simply based on a love for people and a desire to offer hospitality to them. This same clergy leader continues:

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very different in very different ways. But I think really if it comes down to it, that's what we're talking about."

> [It] is just being in people's lives and loving them. . . . The mission of the church here is interacting, being present, just literally being here as opposed to being like a program-driven church. . . . So, I think one of the shifts for a lot of people is to switch from, "When is our weekly Bible study?" to thinking like, "Oh, so the way I interact with this [congregation] is to go have dinner at the [restaurant]. Or to be a member of the [child care center]. Or to just be here physically present. . . .

In this way, the motivation to provide hospitality is birthed out of a desire to be incarnationally present within the community as a good neighbor. By establishing a place of belonging, leaders create the conditions and provide the platform for relationships to form.

Some leaders are motivated to establish relationships in order to earn the respect of the community, especially those in the community that do not trust religious institutions or their leaders. As one clergy leader says:

> For me, . . . it all comes back to . . . relationship[s]. I have to earn the right to speak into your life. If I haven't earned that right, or if you haven't granted me that right, I'm wasting my breath. And so, I don't want to stand up and scream and yell at people. I want to have a conversation. We can agree, we can disagree, but hopefully, when we walk away, we walk away feeling like we can still be friends.

This clergy leader says that he tries to create an intentional atmosphere within his congregational social enterprise where people feel at home and relaxed. Similarly, another clergy leader says that through his congregation's social enterprise, he is "trying to figure out how to build a reputation that people can trust." Some clergy leaders indicate that individuals in their community believe that Christians often establish relationships simply to evangelize them. For this reason, these individuals feel that the relationships are artificial and contrived.[84] Therefore, the approach that many of these

[84] During an interview, a lay and clergy leader discussed this issue. The lay leader channels the thoughts of those within the community in relationship to popular forms of Christian interaction: "Oh,

congregational leaders take is a reaction against this popular sentiment. By simply offering welcome and a place to gather, these leaders are establishing trusting relationships with those in their community.

Congregational leaders desire to make relationships with those in their community in order to establish networks of support and care. In this way, the social enterprise becomes like a refuge or sanctuary (read "safe place") for the community. Some congregational leaders talk about the connections that are formed with people as they share their lives, struggles, and questions together. The support group that forms becomes, as one lay leader notes, "like family." In her congregation's coffee shop, one lay leader who works as a barista says that she knows her customers very well. Reflecting on these personal interactions, she says, "[It's like] I totally know your coffee order, and we don't need to say anything. But [while] I get that [drink] for you, let me know how your week is going." The relationship that the congregational leader builds with a customer can form a sense of deep community. As one clergy leader says, "I think success is establishing genuine relationships with people in our neighborhood, whether or not they do come to Christ, they know that we care about them, I think that's success." Another clergy leader discusses the way that members from a variety of denominational and faith traditions feel welcomed and supported in his congregational social enterprise. As he says, "Almost none of them have a church background that comes anywhere close to our church's theology."

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there's a bait-and-switch B.S. They're just trying to get us to come to their church. What's their angle?" The clergy leader follows up, "Yeah, because that's not what we're trying to do."

Nevertheless, these individuals feel comfortable coming into the congregational social enterprise day after day. Through the conversations that emerge these individuals unpack sensitive aspects of their lives—their struggles, their family problems, and their health concerns, just to name a few. The clergy leader says, "They begin to reveal things that you never knew about them and maybe [wouldn't have otherwise found] out for years." The congregational leader may offer assistance, advice, or prayers in return. In particular, a clergy leader describes an interaction with a man who came into the social enterprise and later wrote a note of thanks to the clergy leader which said, "I want to thank you for being there for me as you were an oasis for a traveler." In response, the clergy leader says, "[This was] one of those moments when you go, okay, what we're doing here makes sense." An expressive form of ministerial concern begins to develop as these relationships formalize.

Some congregational leaders build relationships in the community to share their faith through evangelism and proselytization. One clergy leader says, "I think the motivator is –I mean it's cliché but—how do we reach people for Jesus in the twenty-first century? It's figuring that out, and it's a challenge. That's motivating." A lay leader says, "[H]opefully bring in more people into the fold so to speak, I think that's my main goal. And what motivates me is to figure out ways to outreach, to bring people." As a result, the lay leader indicates that the congregation actually has a pastor in their social enterprise to encourage volunteers to pray with customers, schedule theology conversations, live-feed worship services into the place of business, and/or use the place of business itself as a sanctuary for their regular worship services. One clergy leader frames this understanding by reference to Jesus' interaction with the woman at the well in

John 4. In this passage, Jesus travels to a place where many would go as part of their normal day's work.

> Respondent: When Jesus met the woman at the well, she didn't go to the well to meet God. She went to get a drink of water, an everyday kind of thing. When she did that, she found God. That's kind of our vision: How can we build wells?" . . .
>
> Interviewer: So how do you add value to the community? How do you create those wells where people will come to nourish their thirst and while they're doing that, then also discover that they have a different thirst that has not yet been quenched? . . .
>
> Respondent: We're using our location. We're using our structure, our building—from the arts center as a front door to the of love Christ.

Through relational evangelism some congregational leaders desire to build community in order to have an opportunity to share their faith with others. Relational evangelism may be understood as proselytization that occurs by building personal relationships with others (Kujawa-Holbrook, 2010; McDill, 1979). One lay leader says that it is a matter of "taking Jesus where Jesus would otherwise not be." Or as one clergy leader says, "It's inviting Jesus into the community." Another clergy leader sums up this approach: "For a long time . . . the church has said, 'If you believe, then you can belong.' But [it is] much more effective to say, 'You belong. Let me show you why we exist. Let me show you how to believe.'"

In select cases (one in this study), congregational leaders may use congregational social enterprise to build and repair broken relationships among the larger Christian community, a form of practical ecumenism (Gros, McManus, & Riggs, 1998). Practical ecumenism refers to the promotion of interreligious and ecumenical dialogue and activity, especially among Christian faith communities. In the one case of explicit practical ecumenism identified in this study, the clergy leader describes his motivation

for establishing a congregational social enterprise by noting the way that his congregation's coffee shop has become a hub for the Christian community in his area. The clergy leader says, "What we found is this [social enterprise] has become a really beautiful place for cross-pollinating Christian conversations, especially in a small-town environment." The leadership intentionally branded the coffee shop without identifying the sponsoring congregation. Furthermore, the leadership established the coffee shop on a separate piece of property a few miles away from the congregation's main location. A clergy leader of a congregational social enterprise situated on a "neutral" territory where Christians from a variety of settings can interact and build relationships says: "By being separate from the church property, we're allowing . . . other churches to feel confident about doing ministry here because they're not doing ministry for or with [our congregation]." As Christians from a variety of congregations and denominational traditions begin to build community in the congregation's social enterprise, these new relationships reduce the barriers between individuals in differing Christian traditions, as an open system.

BETTERING THE COMMUNITY (IMPACT)

Some congregational leaders are motivated to develop a congregational social enterprise because it aligns with the religious mission of their congregation to better the community. Many of the leaders interviewed for this study represent social enterprises that do not primarily or exclusively benefit the congregation from a financial or membership perspective—a topic that will be revisited later in this chapter. As managing an open system, the leaders of these congregations express an outward, generous, and open posture towards the community. One clergy leader describes his vision for

congregational social enterprise as "about making our community a better place to live." Unlike in a monastic model, where external business ventures support internal religious operations, these congregational leaders pursue social enterprise as an expression of their faith and for the benefit of the external community.

This outward-oriented ethic reflects a missional ethos that is present within the congregation and its leadership as an open system.[85] One lay leader complements his congregation saying that he has never known of a church or religious organization that has been so committed to social ministry. Some congregational leaders discuss the outward facing "D.N.A." of the congregation that influences their decision-making.[86] One clergy leader says impacting the community for the better is his congregation's "*modus operandi*." Another clergy leader describes how his philosophy of leadership and congregational social enterprise is based upon a parish model. He says:

> Instead of thinking: "How healthy is your church?" you think: "How healthy is your parish? . . . Are the schools healthy? I don't know. Well, let's talk to the schools. Or what's going on in our neighborhood?

Expressing a similar philosophical understanding of congregational social enterprise, a lay leader in another congregation says:

> [T]his is a place where we are going to serve others. . . . This is about what we can do for our community and what we can [do to] serve to them. No

[85] As one lay leader says, "[S]o my goal, my vision was to offer a mission opportunity to the whole gamut of the congregation." Additionally, a clergy leader describes the unique task of raising funds for his congregational social enterprise, noting that the congregation's membership will not be the primary beneficiaries of its services. He says, "[W]hen you build or raise money, . . . it's a real weird sell because . . . you're not saying to a church person 'Hey, we're going to have better seats and a cooler media system, and your children are going to have better rooms.' You're saying, 'Our community is going to have access to consolidated and unified nonprofit places that we're going to make more efficient and one stop place crisis care for everybody that's here.'

[86] The importance of this missional culture extends beyond the congregation to include partners with whom the congregation might work. One lay leader discusses the critical nature of selecting vendors who are other-oriented. She says, "[Our] vendor needs to have a real attitude of serving. This is a place where we are going to serve others."

> matter what we get back from them. . . . It's purely a giving act. . . . I think . . . that oftentimes [congregations are] more concerned about the church than they are the community, and this is a wonderful expression that kind of counteracts it.[87]

In both of these settings, the congregational leader expresses a desire to better the community that exceeds that of the congregation. To this end, one clergy leader invokes the words of former Archbishop of Canterbury William Temple who said that the church should exist "for the benefit of non-members."

As opposed to being cloistered (closed systems), the leadership of congregational social enterprise is open (open systems) to the community so that the community might benefit from the congregation's work. One clergy leader indicates how his congregation desires to be a "good corporate citizen." He says:

> We [didn't] want to be . . . the grumpy guy [who says,] "Keep off the grass." We really wanted to be good corporate citizens. . . . We didn't want to look like we were quarantining ourselves away from all that's happening.

A lay leader frames his theological understanding of congregational social enterprise by using a verse from the Hebrew Bible. This verse servers as a key motivation for him. In Jeremiah 29:7, the Prophet commands the Israelites in exile to "seek the welfare of the city where I [God] have sent you" (*NRSV*, 1991). In the same way, this leader understands his objective in congregational social enterprise to serve as a blessing to his city and community. He says that through his social enterprise he is "incubating shalom"

[87] In another setting the congregational leaders were given a choice of obtaining a beautiful piece of property in a stable, growing area. Instead, the leadership of the congregation decided to purchase a dilapidated piece of property in an underserved community. The lay leader describes the situation (with emphasis added): [I]nitially, the idea was for us to be in a position where we can help the underserved. We wanted to provide some measure of housing relief. . . . *Ultimately our church is a mission-minded church. . . . It's a mission-oriented church.* So we felt that by doing something like this, a project like this, it may support the church, but it also would be the financial driver as a funding stream *for some of our mission's outpost*.

(God's peace, harmony, and wholeness) in the world. Similarly, a clergy leader describes his underlying desire to create community impact. He says that when he goes around town he is continually thinking about the people he encounters and is asking himself, "What do they need? And what would it mean if they got what they needed?"[88] Many congregational social entrepreneurs take on a posture of service for the community so that the community might benefit from their efforts.

Many leaders of congregational social enterprises seek to improve the lives of individuals. A lay leader says, "[O]ur job as a Christian is to be giving back and seeking justice for others." Congregational leaders improve the lives of individuals by empowering them with the skills and tools necessary for employment.[89] Another lay leader says, the desire is to give individuals a "greater sense of purpose and hope." At times, this outreach will be to at-risk teens or formerly incarcerated adults. Multiple congregational leaders describe how their social enterprise is a platform for food distribution to marginalized persons.

Beyond individuals, congregational leaders also indicate that their social enterprises are designed to tackle some of the largest systemic issues in their communities. One clergy leader says that his motivation for congregational social enterprise came when he realized how little funding the city government had for the public-school system. More than 1,000 vacant homes in his community resulted in low tax revenue. As a result, the clergy leader established a congregational social enterprise to

[88] Similarly, another clergy leader describes his vision for congregational social enterprise by saying that he desires to discover who is in his community and identify what their needs are so that the congregation might begin meeting them.

[89] This term (empower) was used by a clergy leader. Describing her social enterprise, she says, "It's a social enterprise [where] we can empower more people and the community."

rehab houses in the hopes of bringing more families into the community who would contribute to the community's tax pool and, thereby, improve public education. In the rare cases where a congregational social enterprise produces excess revenue, congregational leaders indicate that they give the funds away in grants to support their community. One clergy leader describes his congregational social enterprise (and the funds generated from it) as the "largest nongovernmental help agency in town." He says, "For us, our definition of success is what we put back into the community each year."

According to congregational leaders, the impact that congregational leaders make on their communities through social enterprise is often demonstrable. As one clergy leader says:

> I know for a fact that if we were not in that community, thousands of people would be negatively impacted. My only understanding of the success of anything that a church does is: Will the community miss you if you're gone?

In one setting, a clergy leader says that her congregation was given an official commendation by their city government because police related incidents decreased by 22 percent in their neighborhood in the two years since the congregation launched its social enterprise.[90] The lay leader of another congregation describes how his congregation bought and tore down a crack house, replacing it with a vibrant center of commerce and community engagement. In another instance, a clergy leader says that his congregation purchased a 100,000 square-foot facility that was previously used as the largest gang recruitment center in his region. This gang no longer operates out of the facility, and the

[90] In this instance, the clergy leader describes her community during the early days after the social enterprise's launch. She says, "We have seen many dead bodies on the street. We actually experienced two men get shot outside of the restaurant on the corner across the street. [The walls are] riddled with bullets, and [some] bullets [went into] the restaurant itself."

leader of the gang has left the gang and become a Christian. Another clergy leader describes the community transformation that took place when his congregation purchased a run-down hotel. The clergy leader describes the location as "sleazy," "a terrible place," "a blight on [our] neighborhood," and "the armpit" of our community. The hotel had become a hangout for drug dealers and prostitutes, with a meth lab in one of the rooms and other rooms rented by the hour. According to the clergy leader, after the church purchased the hotel renovated the facility and improved the clientele, the police department reduced the number of patrols in the area.

In sum, the leading motivations for congregational social enterprise have an expressive overtone, namely: 1) the vision connects with the religious identity of the congregational social entrepreneur and 2) the vision aligns with the religious mission of the congregation as an open system to enter the community, build community, and/or better the community.[91] As previously established, there appears to be a link between the theological orientation of congregational leaders and their motivations for social enterprise. Regardless of its manifestation, however, these motivations are tied to deeply held theological beliefs and indicate an overlapping relationship between the leader's expressive understanding of ministry and the instrumental values of social entrepreneurship. Frumkin (2002) accurately notes, "While congregations and faith-based organizations may pursue social justice and seek to meet important social needs, a

[91] It is important to note that these motivations need not be mutually exclusive. For example, the concepts of "*building* community" and "*bettering* community" are not mutually exclusive but are instead often overlapping concepts. For instance, in establishing his congregational social enterprise, a clergy leader says, "I think we're going to offer people a way to serve the community, and in that process, we're going to build relationships with them, hopefully let[ting] them know why we serve." In fact, some congregational leaders say that they cannot effectively better their community unless they have effectively built relationships with those in their community.

substantial part of the religious impulse arises from the desire to enact and express one's faith" (p. 115). This basic understanding of the motivations for congregational social enterprise as a form of ministry indicates that the "instrumental" tool of social enterprise is used by the congregational leaders for "expressive" purposes. This finding, in turn, has implications for the way that values, faith, and social entrepreneurship are conceived within the third sector.

AN UNDERSTANDING OF CONGREGATIONAL SOCIAL ENTERPRISE AS INSTRUMENTALLY EXPRESSIVE

Initially, when I first began my research, I predicted that the pursuit of congregational social enterprise was related to declining financial resources, what has become known in the literature as resource dependency theory (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). Assuming that organizations exist in competitive environments, resource dependency theory holds that organizations have an interdependent, exchange relationship with their environment that supplies needed resources (Heimovics, Herman, & Coughlin, 1993, p. 435).[92] Because the survival of any organization is dependent upon the procurement and conservation of resources (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978), organizations relying on a single resource to sustain operations—like many congregations—become especially vulnerable to fluctuations in the environment. As individual donations typically account for ninety percent of congregational income (Chaves, 2009, p. 36), I anticipated that the prospect of an alternative revenue stream motivated the pursuit of

[92] Three key concepts are foundational to resource dependency theory: organizations are reliant on their social context, organizations can often draw on multiple strategies to obtain resources, and power dynamics are always at play (Scott & Davis, 2015, p. 244). The relative importance of these resources may be determined by the volume of exchange that takes place, the concentration of exchange, or the essential nature of the resource to the organization's operation (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978, pp. 46, 50).

social enterprise by congregational leadership.[93] As a result, I anticipated that—as in other nonprofit settings—congregational social enterprises would essentially function as an "instrumental" activity, per Frumkin (2002). Instead, I have found very few cases in which an instrumental motivation was the exclusive or even primary driver. The leading motivations for congregational social enterprise are more akin to the expressive categories described at the beginning of this chapter. I do not deny that there are utilitarian, instrumental motivations present within congregational social enterprise. However, I do not find that they are central according to my subjects. As a result, this study complicates Frumkin's (2002) conceptualization of the nonprofit sector by revealing an overlapping complexity that is present when *expressive* congregational faith and *instrumental* social entrepreneurship combine.

Scholars have experienced great difficulty in settling on a single, unified definition of social entrepreneurship. However, Trexler (2008) notes that the one commonality stretching across all available definitions of social entrepreneurship is an emphasis on sustainability. Social entrepreneurship has been conceived as offering sustainable solutions for the environment, the social order, and ultimately financial sustainability for the benefit of the nonprofit or for-profit institution that pursues it (p. 65). Financial sustainability is so important that Osberg and Martin (2015) insist that financial sustainability is a practical requirement of social entrepreneurship. This is—in part—the reason that Frumkin (2002) puts social entrepreneurship in the instrumental category and the reason why I expected my study to confirm its placement. However, the

[93] Leaders may be able to manage their dependence upon their resource environments by adapting to (essentially complying with) the demands of the environment or by intentionally evading the demands altogether (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978, pp. 92–111).

overwhelming majority of congregational leaders interviewed for this study do not indicate that their entrepreneurial efforts are driven by a desire to either become financially sustainable or to replace declining voluntary donations. One clergy leader goes so far as to say, "It's not about the financial situation. It's not just about the family struggles [read congregational struggles]." Another clergy leader says, "I don't know if the motivation should be an income, [almost like] a life raft. . . . 'Cause I think the tail is going to wag the dog pretty quickly. That would be sort of tragic." Very few congregational leaders pursue congregational social enterprise out of instrumental desire for money. One respondent refers to the income from his congregation's social enterprise as "incidental." He continues, "It's not fundamentally about the money, and I think that's why it works."

Some of the congregational leaders interviewed for this study express concern if the social enterprise were to impact or to supersede congregational giving. One clergy leader opposes the possibility of his social enterprise funding the long-term operations of the congregation because he sees a biblical and theological mandate to encourage generosity within his congregation's membership. The clergy leader says:

> I think things are going to have to change. I don't think the answer is going to be churches having barbecue joints. I think we're going to have to adjust our structures, our patterns, our ministries, and our theology of money and stewardship. But I think that long term those are not the answers to funding the ministries of the church.

Another clergy leader says:

> I think the question of anyone who is going to start a sort of . . . money-making venture in or through the church better have—one would hope—a clear idea about what a right relationship with money looks like and not simply that it's a way of funding the budget or getting more stuff. . . . [A] really important question for anyone who is thinking about this . . . is:

> what are you about? And if it's just about getting money, then you're probably barking up the wrong tree.

Another clergy leader indicates that becoming profitable actually would create a theological and missional conflict with his expressive view of social enterprise. As he says, "I wonder how long it would take before the profit became more important than the relationship." When this clergy leader refers to "the relationship" he is referring to the ministerial relationships he has developed through his congregational social enterprise as an expressive form of faith. By structuring a congregation's budget in such a way that the congregation is dependent on the profits from the social enterprise, he indicates that the leadership may be tempted to "short circuit some of the ministry in order to keep the profits up." Without the expectation of profit, the ministry can focus on missional areas of importance without the exclusive obsession over the financial bottom line. This clergy leader continues:

> The enterprise is truly an extension of ministry with no expectation of profit. That helps keep [it] in line. . . . I think the human tendency would be . . . to maybe even change the matrix on which we measured success. Success may not be so much relationship anymore but how many [credit] cards did we put through [today].

In this way, lack of instrumental profit actually functions like a check and balance for the congregation to ensure that its expressive ministry is maintained. Therefore, if there is an instrumental motive, it is to express social enterprise as a form of ministry.

The social enterprise and corporate responsibility literature have long noted the tension that exists between a firm's profitability and its social responsibility (Halal, 2001) because an organization's social mission may contrast with the goals of commercial success (W. K. Smith, Gonin, & Besharov, 2013). Most organizations take a balanced perspective where profitability is seen as consistent with the goals of social

entrepreneurship in so far as the pursuit of profit does not eclipse the organization's social values (Peredo & McLean, 2006). Within the social entrepreneurship literature, the question is not so much *if* profit exists but *how* it is used (Jenner, 2016, p. 47; Ridley-Duff, 2008; Wilson & Post, 2013). As Doherty et al. (2009) note: the "inward flow of financial resources is essential to sustain an organisation" (sic.; p. 8). Few authors, see profitability as categorically inconsistent with social enterprise (cf. Leadbetter, 1997). However, many congregational social entrepreneurs express such concern.

Within the social entrepreneurship literature, organizations achieving sustainability from a variety of sources have been termed multi-resource organizations (Doherty et al., 2009; Ridley-Duff & Bull, 2015). Many congregational social enterprises fall into this category. The vast majority of congregational leaders interviewed for this study indicate that their congregation's social enterprise is, in fact, not (on its own) financially sustainable. In many cases, the congregation's operating budget must continually subsidize the social enterprise's operations. Very few of the subjects indicate that their congregational social enterprise operates at a profit. Only in one of my cases does the congregational leader indicate that income from the social enterprise drastically exceeds contributions from the congregation. In most cases, profit margins are either narrow or non-existent. Most of my subjects say that their congregational social enterprise either barely breaks even or operates at a loss. During my interviews, multiple congregational leaders revealed that their social enterprises often give away more than they sell to customers. One such leader suggested that his congregation's social enterprise grosses less than $3,000 per year. Others lose money each month. As a result, some congregational leaders encourage their staff members to seek outside employment in

other business venues because the congregation's budget has not prioritized or is not large enough to support staff salaries. According to the leadership of these institutions, many congregational social enterprises would be insolvent were their operations not subsidized by the voluntary donations (tithes and offerings) of their congregation or—in extremely rare cases (two in my study)—outside grants. One lay leader who now serves as a consultant to help establish congregational social enterprises indicates that he often says the following to his clients:

> We're not promising that you're going to have some crazy amount of revenue coming in. We're not even promising that you're going to have enough revenue to cover all of your operational costs as a ministry.

Instead, the lay leader points to the opportunity that congregational social entrepreneurs will have for expressive ministry and mission in the community.

In many other nonprofit settings, social enterprises would be discontinued if their operations were financially untenable. Subsidizing the social enterprise allocates resources that could otherwise be used for the nonprofit's primary purpose violating its instrumental function.[94] While some congregational leaders express the aspirational ideal that their enterprise would in time break even, many leaders are comfortable with the enterprise being unprofitable for the long-term. In fact, some congregational leaders even express a fear of profitability. One clergy leader says:

> One of our fears was we [would] become too comfortable with the influx of funding from [the social enterprise] that we would [feel that we] have finally arrived. Time to put our feet up. . . . Hey, we did it. No. . . . Again,

[94] For instance, if World Vision were to open a coffee shop that proved to be unprofitable, it is reasonable to expect that World Vision would cease the coffee shop's operations. Even in situations where the social enterprise is programmatic (i.e. Goodwill Industries, Inc., with their job training), it is reasonable to expect that they too would change their model if their social enterprise were not able to sustain itself financially.

> [the social enterprise is] just a vehicle. It's just a tool. The real work is being relevant to our community.

Notice that this clergy leader frames his understanding of social entrepreneurship in an instrumental way. However, for him, the instrumental value of the congregational social enterprise is as a "tool" or "vehicle" to express commitments of faith and to minister in unique settings. In this way, traditional expressive and instrumental categories overlap in the context of congregational social enterprise.

By directing resources toward the social enterprise, the congregation is validating the social enterprise as central to congregation's mission. If subsidizing the social enterprise allocates resources that could otherwise be used for the nonprofit's primary purpose, one might logically conclude that the organization sponsoring the social enterprise sees the work of the social enterprise as part of the organization's primary mission. This generalized contentment with the lack of financial sustainability indicates that the leaders understand their pursuit of social enterprise as an expression of ministry that instrumently functions as an extension of congregational programing. Notice three of the quotations from above with emphasis added:

> "The enterprise is truly *an extension of ministry*. . ."

> "We're not even promising that you're going to have enough revenue to cover all of your operational costs *as a ministry*."

> "Again, [the social enterprise is] just a vehicle. *It's just a tool. The real work is being relevant to our community.*"

The congregational leaders who made these comments conceptualize their pursuit of social enterprise using *instrumentally expressive* language that does not fit within the hard lines of Frumkin's (2002) model.

One interaction illustrates this the overlapping relationship between the expressive and instrumental components of congregational social enterprise. Samuel is a clergy leader of a suburban mainline congregation in the South-Central United States. His congregation operates an off-site coffee shop with plans to expand. During my interview with Samuel, he discussed the financing of the social enterprise and compared the social enterprise to one of the ministry departments of his congregation:

> Yeah. We make no money here. [The coffee shop] pays for its product. And on a good month, it pays for its employees. But the church sees this just like they see the youth department. The financial value if you look at it, simple numbers. It's a loss. . . . And it's always been a loss. And we've always known it's a loss. . . . [But] it turns out the coffee shop is more effective than a good youth program.

Here, we see a clergy leader clearly describing his congregation's social enterprise as an *instrumentally expressive* form of programmatic ministry. Certainly, one could argue that the value Samuel sees in his congregation's social enterprise is instrumental insofar as it benefits the ministry of the church through an increased awareness of the congregation in the community, increased access to those in the community, and the potential for new converts or members to his congregation. However, in any other setting these *instrumental* gains would likely be ascribed to the *expressive* quadrant of Frumkin's (2002) "Values and Faith" designation. By his own measure, he deems this "ministry" more effective than one of the congregation's traditional ministry programs. In this way, congregational leaders combine the expressive and instrumental designations of the nonprofit sector.

Instead of financial sustainability, congregational leaders indicate that their primary motivation is to advance what they see as their congregation's underlying mission. In fact, I generally find that social enterprise is so deeply connected to the

leader's concept of ministry that the theological orientation of the congregational leader is the single greatest predictor of what form the social enterprise will take. As indicated above, evangelical leaders might use congregational social enterprise as a means to express their faith through evangelism, while theologically progressive leaders might use congregational social enterprise to express their faith by seeking social justice. In other words, the congregational social enterprise becomes an *instrumental* reflection of what the congregational leader understands as an *expressive* form of ministry. Congregational leaders use social enterprise as an expressively instrumental tool for many purposes: to evangelize, solve societal problems, improve their community, educate persons in their neighborhood, and/or expand their congregation's outreach.

Admittedly, Frumkin (2002) presents his matrix as a spectrum noting that nonprofit activity can occur in a variety of forms. Adapting a chart from Crimmins and Keil (1983), Frumkin (2002) depicts the scope of commercial activity that can occur within nonprofit organizations as more or less connected to an organization's mission and thereby constituting the degree to which an activity is instrumental (Figure 4.2). For instance, a theater may sell tickets to its performances (closely aligned with the organization's mission) or run a commercial resale shop (not connected to the organization's mission). A college may charge tuition to students (closely aligned with the organization's mission) or operate a commercial real estate development (not connected with the organization's mission).

Figure 4.2: Scope of nonprofits commercial activities on a continuum showing relation to mission (Crimmins & Keil, 1983)

Very Close to Mission ← → Very Far from Mission

Type of Nonprofit	Program revenues	Commercial enterprise closely related to type of organization	Commercial enterprise distantly related to type of organization	Marketing of the organization's name to patrons	Licensing of name and endorsement aimed at public	Commercial ventures that are totally unrelated to any aspect of the program
Theater	Sells tickets	Offers acting classes	Operates a coffee bar in the lobby	Sells theater posters	Sells broadcast rights to its productions	Runs a resale shop
Community heath clinic	Charges fees for medical services (sliding scale)	Sells medical supplies and prescriptions	Runs a cafeteria that is open to public	Sells T-Shirts and mugs	Enters into multiparty cause-related marketing agreements with local retail companies	Operates a local van service for community residents
College	Charges tuition	Operates a bookstore	Sponsors educational travel for alumni	Sells tote bags and ties	Endorses prep course for Scholastic Aptitude Test	Engages in commercial real estate development

However, as with Frumkin's underlying matrix, the question remains, where do the subjects in this study fall along this spectrum? It is reasonable to suggest that the social enterprises that congregational leaders operate (coffee shops, restaurants, parking ventures, retail development firms, etc.) would objectively be considered akin to the theater's resale shop or the college's commercial real-estate development. This is to say that the basic activities of congregational social enterprise are not primarily related to what one might traditionally associate with the expressive components of congregational values and faith, namely worship and religious education. However, the subjects from this study frame their understanding of their congregational social enterprises as instrumentally expressive and connected to the religious mission of the congregation. For them, the expressive and instrumental are one. As noted in the preceding chapter, three theological tenets of congregational social enterprise are: 1) work is good, 2) business can be good, and 3) *business can be ministry.*

This theological orientation has implications for our understanding of not only social enterprise, but also the role of congregations in American religious life. Congregational leaders indicate that their pursuit of social enterprises has impacted their understanding of what a congregation is and how it operates. One clergy leader claims that the introduction of congregational social entrepreneurship is "almost like going in and remodeling a church's D.N.A." In addition to noting the changes that take place within congregational culture, the leadership of congregational social enterprises indicate a difference in the way they perceive a congregation's primary function and the way that they define "real" impactful ministry.

The literature has portrayed congregations as primarily "houses of worship." For instance, Chaves (2009) indicates that "the basic point" and the "core purpose" for which congregations exist, devote "most of their resources and involve most of their members, is producing and reproducing religious meanings through ritual [acts of worship] and religious education" (p. 9).[95] However, the leaders of many congregational social enterprises are reimagining the congregation in a business setting often as a "third space" (Elmborg, 2011) fostering a more open and individualized form of "sanctuary" that is not always or necessarily a place of gathering for worship and religious education. The theological orientation of the leadership has a profound impact on the manifestation of the social enterprise. Admittedly, congregations have long been centers for a variety of activity. Consider the political role that congregations served during the Civil Rights Era

[95] Admittedly, a congregation have historically hosted many functions and activities. A clergy leader interviewed for this study related it to the synagogues of the first century that were not only places of worship but also civic centers and public markets. As he says, "[T]hey did everything." Nevertheless, the core purpose and central, orienting function of the congregation has always been, as Chaves (2009) suggests, for religious functions.

(see A. D. Morris, 1986) or the role that congregations have played in employment opportunities for marginalized and immigrant communities (see Woocher, 1986).[96] What is new and emerging, however, is a changing emphasis that some congregational leaders are giving towards the way they conceive and execute the congregation's primary and essential function.

A large share of congregational leaders (between thirty and forty percent of my sample) either elevate the social enterprise to the level of the worshipping community or diminish the worshipping community as secondary to what happens in the social enterprise. One lay leader discusses his preference for the way his congregation understands and uses its facility for religious and other purposes. He says, "I would rather [our congregation] be a community space than a church [read worshipping community]. . . . I'd rather [it] be a community space that the church uses." This lay leader describes his congregation's use of the facility for worship as being "just another renter" of the social enterprise space. This lay leader continues:

> We just happen to be the ones that are here on Sunday mornings. On Sunday nights, it's another group. On Wednesday nights, it's always square dance. . . . Obviously, [the pastor] and a handful of people that are a part of our church are very involved in the rest of the stuff that goes on in the building, but as far as an entity goes, we have sandwich boards that we put out just like any other renter does. . . . Our congregation[']s worshipping community] just happens to be the driving force [behind the social enterprise].

In this case, the lay leader elevates the use of the congregation's facility for community purposes to a level of equivalency with the worship service. For him, attendance at the

[96] While one might expect leaders of marginalized and minority congregations to develop social enterprises for their communities, my study reveals that this phenomenon is present within a variety of other Protestant religious settings, including white, mainline, evangelical, urban, rural, and suburban congregations, even those with large financial resources.

worship service is just as important as eating in the congregation's restaurant, which is attached to the facility. It is his desire that the congregation become so completely merged with the community that there is a natural overlap and integration between both the sacred and communal functions of the congregation. In this way, he sees his congregation's social enterprise as instrumentally expressive.

The leaders of some of the congregational social enterprises interviewed for this study minimize the role and function of the worship service as the primary orienting feature of the congregation. In one setting, some members of the congregation have stopped attending the congregation's worship service but continue to be involved by volunteering with the congregation's social enterprise. Other respondents go so far as to say that they see the most formational *ministry* not within the congregation's sanctuary or Sunday school classrooms but within the social enterprise itself. One clergy leader says, "I really look at what we do on Sunday as now sort of an addendum to the ministry that we do here [in the coffee shop] rather than the other way around." Most of this clergy leader's congregation gather for conversation in the congregation's coffee shop a full hour and a half before the worship service is scheduled to begin. When it is time for worship, the clergy leader says that a member of the congregation must go to the coffee shop, flicker the lights, and sometimes make a loud verbal announcement to encourage the membership to come to the sanctuary. According to the clergy leader, there are many Sundays when the worship service starts late because individuals are so deeply engaged in meaningful conversation. The clergy and lay leadership of this congregation, however, are not discouraged by this practice. In fact, they see what happens in the social enterprise as an essential form of ministry that leads to spiritual formation and that may

be more formational and more important than what happens in the sanctuary. Recall the clergy leader quoted above who indicated that his congregational social enterprise was more impactful than the congregation's youth ministry.

Furthermore, one clergy leader describes his congregation's worship service as more "transactional" than the congregation's place of business.[97] He explains that the worship service engages an impersonal format as congregants gather, engage in collective acts of worship, and hear a single religious specialist give a sermon. Within the context of the congregation's social enterprise, however, the clergy leader indicates that he and his members are able to engage in more personal conversation and build deeper, more meaningful spiritual relationships. As the clergy leader says, "It's like church spread out but better because it's personal." Whereas a clergy leader may have only a few brief moments of personal interaction with his or her members in a given week either before or after a typical worship service, it is not uncommon for a clergy leader—in some cases—to have between five-and-eight hours a week with a given parishioner in the context of the social enterprise. Whereas many sanctuaries sit empty for most of the week, the social enterprise engages individuals throughout the week as an instrumentally expressive form of ministry.

Part of the rationale that is used by these leaders for their evolving understanding of the congregation and its primary function is a product of changing cultural dynamics within a more post-Christian context. Some leaders refer to the fact that many people in

[97] The degree to which the social enterprise is transactional may be somewhat dependent on the form of the business model. For instance, relationships with customers may more easily form in a retail or food service setting when compared to a service industry like landscaping, parking, or lawn care. In settings where relationships form there may be more personal interaction beyond only a financial transaction that takes place.

their communities are either not interested in coming to a religious worship service, do not feel welcome in them, or do not understand them. One clergy leader says that he knows many people in his community who think of a traditional worshipping congregation like that of a fraternal membership society. Making an analogy between the facilities used by both groups, the clergy leader says:

> I tell people all the time that church buildings in today's society are almost a problem because people see this as a place that they don't belong. . . . The only way that I could understand that is I have never been tempted to walk into a Moose lodge. I walk by them. I see it. I understand the sign says, "Welcome. Open to the public." And yet, I'm not a Moose. So, I don't belong, and I have never been tempted to walk inside.

This clergy leader's reference of the facility is important not only because "a building" can be considered unwelcoming or uninviting, but also because it references the context in which the group's activity takes place. Is the essential activity of a congregation taking place in a cloistered environment that is offset from the world? Or is it taking place in a more open and integrated setting that engages the marketplace? For this reason, multiple respondents describe the importance of their social enterprise as the actual or proverbial "doorway" to the congregation. As one clergy leader says, "On Sunday morning, we have a formal entrance to the church that about ten people use. . . . This [social enterprise] is where people come. This is the entry."

It is not so much that leaders see the primary function of the congregation as operating a business (i.e. the congregation as coffee-shop). If that were the case, many of these social ventures are failing miserably from a financial perspective. The congregational leadership, however, has identified a way to operationalize its central ecclesiastical purposes through social entrepreneurship. In other words, congregational leaders see social enterprise as an instrumentally expressive form of ministry. Therefore,

the social enterprise can not only provide a space for deep, meaningful relationships within the congregation to develop but also function as a more accessible and inviting entry point for those without a religious upbringing, those who have become disenchanted with organized religion, or who do not profess a religious tradition at all. In a sense, the social enterprise becomes the space between the congregation and the world. Specifically, the social enterprise serves as a means of connection between people, both for those inside the congregation and those who are outside the congregation's membership.

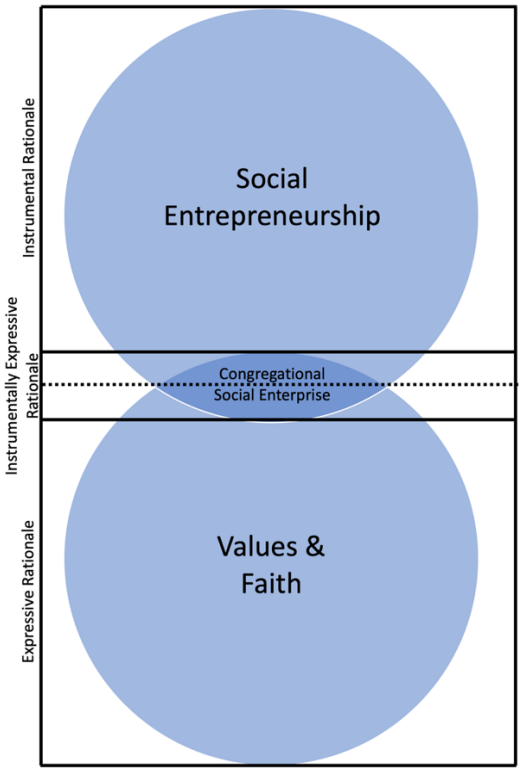
Like a fertile confluence, congregational social enterprises bring together populations that otherwise would not meet. As a lay person, Marsha provides leadership to a congregational thrift store and describes the deep meaningful connection she and the volunteers of their social enterprise establish with their customers. In particular, she describes a situation where a customer wrote a thank you note to the congregation indicating what a blessing the social enterprise had been in her life:

> Marsha: I think everyday people just feel a connection with those that they're serving, and these are people that they would never come into contact with if it wasn't for the [thrift store].
>
> Interviewer: So, bridging not just the connection between the church and the world but between people as well?
>
> Marsha: Exactly. It's relationships that are formed, and for the people that will come, it's almost like they're VIP customers because a lot of them will come in once a week. It's such a mix of people that come in of all backgrounds—economically, racially. And, again, these paths would never cross if it wasn't for that shop.

The purpose for which these relationships form is dependent on the congregational leader's theological orientation and understanding of what constitutes ministry. Congregational social enterprise is essentially an instrumentally expressive endeavor. As

a result, a new, overlapping, and increasingly complex understanding of faith and social entrepreneurship is needed. This understanding may be visually represented using the following model (Figure 4.3). Instead of conceptualizing "Social Entrepreneurship" and "Values and Faith" as separate categories, as per Frumkin (2002), consider the possibility that within congregational social enterprise, these two concepts may overlap.

Figure 4.3: An Intersecting Model of Instrumental and Expressive Rationales for Congregational Social Entrepreneurship



CONCLUSION

Leading motivations for congregational social enterprise include that 1) the vision for the social enterprise connects with the religious identity of the social entrepreneur and 2) aligns with the religious mission of the congregation to enter the community, build community, and/or better the community. I acknowledge that there are many motivations

for congregational social enterprise, including general motivations (Appendix E) which future scholarship may analyze further. However, when asked, congregational leaders across a diverse cross section of Protestant denominations and theological traditions tend to narrate their motivations by drawing connections between their personal faith and their understanding of the religious mission of their congregation. While I generally accept the overarching categories from Frumkin's (2002) conceptual model of nonprofit activity, I find that congregational social enterprise occupies a new "instrumentally expressive" category that exists between the instrumental functions of social enterprise and the expressive functions of values and faith (Figure 4.3).

This research was predicated on the presupposition that leaders of congregational social enterprises were motivated by a decline in financial resources. For this reason, it was hypothesized that congregational social enterprise would be motivated by an *instrumental* desire for financial resources, as with other nonprofit contexts. Of course, there are utilitarian, instrumental motivations present within congregational social enterprise. However, I found these to be auxiliary drivers at best. Very few individuals expressed an instrumental motivation for their congregational social enterprise, and when congregational leaders spoke in this manner, they typically framed the enterprise's instrumentality as a religious expression of faith. The leading motivations for congregational social enterprise are both religiously instrumental and expressive.

This study complicates Frumkin's (2002) analysis and points to a context for social enterprise transcending otherwise clearly defined boundaries. As with the role of congregational social entrepreneurs (chapter 2), the leading motivations for congregational social enterprise reveal an increasing complex and overlapping

understanding of expressive and instrumental categories. This evidence not only points to the flexibility of social entrepreneurship to conform to the purposes of its leadership but also the permeating reach of faith and values in the context of human endeavor. Religious activity resists being confided to a single or separate category. Faith and values tend to accompany a religious leader in whatever sector or activity they are involved.

As part of my dissertation research and in an effort to better understand my subjects, I attended two national conferences focused on congregational social entrepreneurship. These conferences were hosted by two different Protestant denominations. One conference was hosted by a large mainline Protestant denomination, while the other was hosted by a smaller evangelical Protestant denomination. Each conference gathered approximately sixty clergy leaders from across the country who were either interested in or who had been asked to consider pursuing social entrepreneurship at the congregational level.

Consistent with the findings from this research, the evangelical denomination focused much more on the underlying connection between the congregation and the religious mission of the social enterprise. Leaders from this evangelical denomination indicated that they were not interested in perpetuating an unproductive or ineffective congregational culture. These leaders publicly said that they would not consider placing a congregational social enterprise in an unhealthy congregation experiencing decline. The motivation for the pursuit of congregational social enterprise should—according to the leaders of this evangelical denomination—be to advance the religious mission of the congregation and to improve the community.

By contrast, the conference leadership from the mainline denomination was much more interested in the topic of financial sustainability, even including the term "sustainability" in the conference's title. While the evangelical denomination was not interested in propping up a congregation experiencing decline, the mainline denominational gathering was predicated on an effort to find ways for congregations to become financially viable.

Given the way that congregational social entrepreneurs interviewed for this study responded to the topic of motivations, future research could study the impact of these different motivating philosophies (extending mission vs. financial viability) on the effectiveness of the enterprise and its impact on the congregation. It could be that pursuing social enterprise from a motivation that is disconnected from the religious identity of the congregational social entrepreneur and/or the religious mission of the congregation leads to a different outcome and/or reception for congregational social enterprise.

How might a more instrumental motivation impact the effectiveness and/or reach of a faith community? This research demonstrates that in many cases the congregational social enterprise does not function as a panacea. In a study of a Catholic diocese in Africa, Oudur (2012) found that strategic fit is vitally important for any entrepreneurial endeavor within a religious community (p. 66). If the enterprise becomes a distraction from the organization's primary mission, it will likely fail. Could it be that pursuing congregational social enterprise to sustain an institution either leads to mission drift or failure—not only failure for the social enterprise but perhaps also accelerating decline within the congregation? How does this more instrumental motivation impact a lay or

clergy leader's interest in, loyalty to, or dedication to congregational social enterprise? With significant financial and human resources at stake, denominational and congregational bodies are advised to think critically and theologically about what they hope to achieve with social entrepreneurship and why they choose to pursue it.

CHAPTER 5

THE EXPERIENCES OF CONGREGATIONAL SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURS

This chapter focuses on the narrated experiences of congregational social entrepreneurs. While future researchers may build upon the categories and accounts included in this chapter, the intended audience for this chapter is the practitioner—those lay and clergy leaders who are considering launching a social enterprise in their congregation. My aim is for the content that follows to serve not only as a guide for the establishment and operations of a congregational social enterprise but also to help the reader better understanding the contributing factors that allow congregational leaders to take on risk, become innovative, and be proactive within their respective social enterprises. The contributing factors leading to the successful launch and operation of a congregational social enterprise can be categorized in three broad categories: Administrative Factors, Leadership Factors, and Practical Factors.

ADMINISTRATIVE FACTORS

The administration of a social enterprise requires that congregational leaders address administrative responsibilities related to the congregational social enterprise. This administrative task requires interaction with parties inside and outside of the congregation. These parties may include denominational officials, congregational leaders, developers, lawyers, contractors, and government entities among others. Interfacing with these individuals requires savvy negotiations, compromise, and political finesse. One lay leader of a congregation that is redeveloping its property to launch a social enterprise says that he has had to navigate a maze of stakeholders and decision makers:

> First, I went to the key leaders of the church . . ., whether they're in an official position or not. They are stakeholders. If they're not on board, that's a problem. Then, we went immediately to our [denominational representatives for permission]. We had to go through the city. We had to rezone. Our [development] partners are with us, but we haven't seen eye to eye on everything. . . . So we've had to navigate relationships with the business leaders of our developer. . . . There's a lot to make this happen.

When possible, some congregational leaders encourage consulting with experts to properly navigate these complex administrative dynamics, especially if the congregation has qualified individuals with whom they can consult in the congregation's membership.

WORKING WITH INSIDE PARTIES

All of the congregational social enterprises in this study require the support of both lay and clergy leaders, what I have termed a "collaborative partnership" in Chapter 2. However, leadership extends beyond just a handful of parties. Congregational leaders must operate within the governance structure of their local congregation and, if applicable, their respective denomination. A lay leader says:

> We have definitely had to work within the parameters the church sets. Like if we're trying to bring in new ideas, it doesn't just go through myself and [the pastor]. Obviously, it goes up into whatever decision-making process, whoever is involved. . . . So, it's sort of a long waiting process sometimes. . . .

The congregational leaders interviewed for this study indicate that they must navigate their congregation's governance structure. This process may not only include the congregation's local governing committees (such as the administrative board, finance, and trustees committees) but also denominational representatives (such as Bishops, Overseers, District Superintendents) and denominational governing bodies (denominational building and land committee). As one lay leader says, "[T]here are

multiple groups who have been considering it. . . . It's not just like us and [the pastor]. There's a lot of parties involved. . . .”

THE CONGREGATION

The process of establishing a congregational social enterprise in a new congregation that is just being planted may only require a small group of key supporters. However, forming a congregational social enterprise in an established congregation begins with the support of the congregation’s clergy leadership and lay membership. Typically, the congregational leaders interviewed for this study in established congregations indicate that a best practice is to “shop the idea” with a small group of supporters. At this stage and throughout the development and operations of the social enterprise, congregational leaders indicate that it is critical for the clergy leader to be part of the decision-making process or at least passively affirming of its development. Some clergy leaders are not very involved with the social enterprise and do not attend regular meetings. Nevertheless, the support of the clergy leader can give the social enterprise legitimacy within the congregation. As one lay leader says:

> Quite honestly, a minister’s backing is hugely important to the point where I don’t think ministers realize that if they just give [the social enterprise] lip service and that’s all but don’t have your back in other circumstances, that’s difficult. It’s hugely important to have the minister’s back and to for the minister to have your back. . . .

Some congregational leaders do a feasibility study to give the proposal for a congregational social enterprise increased legitimacy. Establishing an underlying vision and business plan for the social enterprise is paramount. With multiple stakeholders at every level of the congregation, some congregational leaders encourage listening sessions so that the congregation as a whole can give feedback, share ideas, and express concerns.

During these presentations, it is particularly effective for the lay and clergy leaders to present the concept for the social enterprise together.

Many congregational leaders within established congregations note that opposition to the idea of social enterprise is common. Leaders describe some meetings as "heated." Members of the congregation may object to the risk involved in establishing a congregational social enterprise, the costs associated with the endeavor, the possibility that the social enterprise will distract from the congregation's "real ministry," the allocation of space that the social enterprise will require (if located on the congregation's premises), general opposition to the idea of a congregation establishing a "business," and opposition to change. If a congregation has had a bad experience with a building program or another innovative form of ministry in the past, opposition to the congregational social enterprise may increase within the congregation based upon past experience. Failure begets fear. As one clergy leader says:

> [I]f you try something and you fail, the congregation doesn't like to fail. When they see something fail, there is a deep hesitancy to every try it again. I think we are sitting in a different place, with [the social enterprise] being successful, than had [the social enterprise] failed. . . . I think success breeds the possibility of success, and failure breeds the possibility of failure, in a congregation's mind.

Congregational social entrepreneurs must be sensitive to the concerns of the congregation—including past failures—and address the issues to gain support.

At some point, most all of the congregational leaders interviewed for this study indicate that the proposal for a social enterprise was affirmed by the congregation's administrative board or relevant committees. The governance committees that handle administration, finances, and property will usually need to be involved. In one case, when a lay leader presented the idea to her minister, the minister directed her to the church

council. Through this process, the establishment of a social enterprise may require that adjustments be made to the congregation's by-laws.

Once the social enterprise is affirmed by the congregation, some lay leaders note the importance of the congregation appointing a few key, trusted decision-makers or hiring a consultant, project manager, or executive director who will be accountable to the congregation's governance board but also will have the freedom to make decisions quickly. As one lay leader says:

> [With any] project like this and any entrepreneurial project within a church, . . . a personal observation is you got to have few people that are 'make-it-happen' kind of people. They have to be empowered. They must understand the size of the box that they're operating in but empowered to do whatever it takes inside that box to achieve whatever objective they have. Without that in the church environment, new stuff just doesn't happen because the church is so hierarchical. Again, personal opinion: a lot of folks are good talkers but can't make things happen; and you got to have folks engaged that can make things happen. You've got to empower them to make things happen.

Without having a small group of key decision makers in place, the project can get mired in bureaucracy. In selecting the persons for these key positions, candidates need to have the right combination of work ethic, ability to focus, commitment to the congregation, and experience to make informed decisions about the particular project that the congregation is pursuing.

After the congregational social enterprise has been established, recruiting key leaders from the congregation to volunteer or to serve in leadership is advised. In particular, it is wise to have representation from the social enterprise on the church council. As one lay leader says:

> [S]ince I've been president I make sure that if I'm not there, that somebody from [the social enterprise] attends every [church council] meeting and makes sure that the [administrative council] members have a

> good sense of what the ministry is and does. Our [social enterprise] is serving the community inside the church and outside.

If the social enterprise gains too much autonomy from the congregation, some clergy and lay leaders may voice opposition, unless the social enterprise was intentionally designed to operate independently. As one clergy leader says:

> [Those in the social enterprise] really wanted to function like a nonprofit but they didn't want to be a 501c3. They wanted to hire managers, and they wanted to do this, that, and the other. And I was really clear that it was going to be a parish ministry and any staff that work would be a member my staff and not accountable to . . . the executive director of a [functionally separate] nonprofit. . . . That was a tussle. That was an important tussle.

Congregational social entrepreneurs are advised to ensure that the congregation is comfortable with how connected or independent the congregational social enterprise is to the congregation.

THE CHURCH

Within hierarchical denominational structures, senior and mid-level leadership can have a profound impact upon the formation and continuation of a social enterprise. The support of a key denominational figures or committees can give a congregational leader the backing he or she needs to proceed in establishing a congregational social enterprise, while opposition can kill the idea or lead to the discontinuation of the social enterprise. Some denominational leaders actively encourage their clergy leaders by giving them permission to be bold, take risks, and to try new forms of ministry. One clergy leader says:

> Our [denominational leader] was talking during [an annual gathering of clergy] about being bold and taking steps to reach the world in a way that the church is not doing now. He said very clearly, "Be bold, and I've got your back." That night I couldn't sleep. I was talking to my wife, and I'm like, "We've got to check into this [social enterprise] idea.

Denominational leaders can grant their churches the permission to dream and possibly the freedom to fail. As one clergy leader says:

> We've been impressed with the leadership from the top of the denomination as far as giving us the permission to try new things and step out in faith. That helps when you've got the backing of the hierarchy, to step out and take the risk.

Senior and mid-level denominational leadership can provide protection for a congregational leader to take action in starting a congregational social enterprise.

Some denominational leaders, however, do not value social entrepreneurship or support its incorporation within the ministry of a congregation. As a result, some congregational leaders have changed denominations to pursue their dream of opening a congregational social enterprise. Some of the reasons that denominational leaders are not interested in congregational social enterprise include: a general lack of interest, a theological objection to congregations opening "businesses," a lack of time to give adequate consideration, and a feeling that the effort will distract focus away from the ministry of the congregation and displace needed volunteer. To overcome objections, congregational social entrepreneurs may need to actively address these or other concerns expressed by denominational representatives.

Within hierarchical structures, congregational leaders insist that it is essential to have denominational leaders on board before the social enterprise develops. Part of the reason it is important to have the support of the denomination's leadership is because significant loss can occur. For instance, one lay leader notes:

> There are a lot of folks that weren't happy we're doing this, and this ultimately meant that we lost about thirty percent of our congregation over the first couple of years of the project. . . . We had talked about that. We knew that was going to happen, and [the pastor] was comfortable with

> that. He knew it looked bad from a record perspective and going upstream to the church hierarchy that he's responsible to. To their benefit, the [denominational representatives] were understanding of that and willing to see those numbers happening that way because they knew there was going to be a reaction to making a drastic change like this.

Obviously, congregational leaders who are part of hierarchical denominations speak about the importance of knowing the specific process by which decisions are made within their specific denomination and the importance of being prepared during meetings with the denominational representatives. Navigating the relevant denominational committees takes time. As one clergy leader says, "One of our fears was: Is this going to be mired in bureaucracy? There have been moments that it has."

Significant problems and delays can occur when there are changes in senior and mid-level denominational leadership. Unfortunately, in some settings, denominational leadership has changed multiple times while trying to establish a social enterprise. With each change, the congregational leader has to begin the process all over again, educating the new denominational representative and hopefully gaining his or her approval. Especially when congregations have entered into contractual agreements with outside parties such as developers, loss of denominational support can have significant ramifications including, but not limited to, legal action. Denominational leaders may need to consider how they can provide consistency in the midst of these leadership changes.

WORKING WITH OUTSIDE PARTIES

GOVERNMENT

Some congregational social enterprises work with government officials and city planners to discern what type of social enterprise the community needs to best serve the city. At times, property must be annexed or rezoned before a congregation can establish a

social enterprise. Working with government is a slow process. Although congregations may be make decisions slowly, congregations can sometimes address problems more quickly than government. One clergy leader says, “The government is still trying to figure out the parking situations and we have cars parking on our church [property]. So, we had to handle this more entrepreneurially for the sake of the situation.” There have been some government officials who have questioned congregational social enterprises related to tax collection. Other governments have partnered with congregational social enterprises to provided needed social services. Congregational leaders are advised to be aware of the legal requirements of establishing a social enterprise and the laws governing business practices.

CONSULTANTS

Depending the scope and scale of the congregational social enterprise, hiring a knowledgeable and reliable consultant can both help mitigate some of the risks associated with establishing a congregational social enterprise and provide needed expertise as well as dedicated focus on the project. Especially when the social enterprise involves property or complex legal covenants, some congregational leaders report that the amount of work required to move the social enterprise forward is beyond the time they have to give. I have found that there are at least two consulting firms in the United States that work in this area. However, some congregations are resistant to hiring a consultant because they prefer to be more personally engaged with the process or have the needed expertise within their congregation’s membership. As one lay leader says, “There was a lot of pushback about hiring a consultant. Our church had a D.I.Y. [Do It Yourself] attitude.” Therefore, congregational leaders need to consider the nature of their individual project,

the expertise that the congregation already possesses within the congregation, and the amount of time and financial resources that the congregation has to devote to the establishment of the congregational social enterprise.

CONTRACTORS AND DEVELOPERS

Some congregational social enterprises that involve property also require interaction with contractors and/or developers. Contractors and developers can be frustrated by the time it takes to navigate decisions within a congregational setting. In one case, the process took almost three years of planning and discussion. Sometimes developers and contractors are not willing to stay at the table for that long. One lay leader recounted his experience with a developer saying:

> [The head of the development firm] said, "We're really concerned about doing business with you guys because we tried to do business with other churches in the past just a few times, and they've been bad experiences because churches don't make decisions or it takes them forever to make decisions. That's not the way we're willing to work."

The lay leader says that one of the reasons that this developer stayed at the table over a multi-year process is that the congregation was willing to make decisions. By having an approved small team of decision-makers the developer saw that the congregation was engaged and moving forward. As the lay leader says:

> Had they not seen that, had we been slack and not been prompt and not been engaged and sometimes not reacting emotionally, I think they would have walked away. . . . [That's] the kind of business that they want to work with in this kind of project.

Many of the leaders of congregational social enterprises that work with developers note the importance of selecting a developer who understands and captures the vision for the congregational social enterprise. As one clergy leader says:

> Respondent: We vetted several developers at the beginning of the process. Some of them just wanted us to sell the property to them outright and to start our church somewhere else with the money. That's not our vision. Our vision is to be in [our community]. Some just wanted to do a bunch of office space with a church beside it, but that's not the cross-pollination, the 24/7 coexistence that we wanted. So when [our developer] made their presentation, we just knew that they caught the vision.
>
> Interviewer: How was that evidenced?
>
> Respondent: They wanted the church there. They understood the church would be the center of this. They wanted the groups that are within the property to engage one another. So, it wouldn't be segregated, church here, this there. They totally see the cross-pollination. Of course, they're going to make a profit. I mean they're a business. But they really believe the church is an important part of this community.

Likewise, some congregational leaders express a preference for working with developers and contractors who are people of faith or who share their values for the vision of the congregational social enterprise. In some settings, congregational leaders expressed dismay that they were unable to find faith-based developers and contractors who were able to operate at the scale they needed for their given project. Depending on the scope and scale of the project (a residential high rise, for instance), some developers may require that the congregation sell the developer the property. In other cases, however, congregational leaders are able to negotiate a long-term lease with the developer for the property while still retaining ownership of the assets.

LENDERS AND INVESTORS

The scale of some congregational social enterprises is large enough to require outside funding from lenders and/or investors. There have been some congregations that have had trouble securing funding for their social enterprise because the concept is so foreign. One respondent says:

> I couldn't find anybody to loan us the money. Our church . . . was debt free. At that time, we had $300,000 or so saved, but they said, “It's so crazy to think about a church owning commercial property.” Not even our local bank would loan to us. They said, “Your financials are great. There is no indebtedness, but it scares us."

At times, funding is obtained from larger firms. However, there are instances when the congregation raises money from small investors in their community. As one clergy leader says:

> The way the pub opened up, we didn't take out loans. It was all donations from individuals or groups or whatever. We called those individuals as founders. We had three official founder levels, so if you donated $500, you're a founder; $1,500 or $2,500, those are the set amounts. With that, the $500, you've got a beer a month for life; $1500, a beer a week; $2,500, a beer a day for life. Those people, they have their name on a glass behind the bar. It's kind of a community buy-in. There's a literal buy-in as a founder, but the idea was to make this a community effort to say, hey, we want to do something that's going to interact with nonprofits, with charities in our area that are giving back to those that's doing something here, that's creating a physical space to actually interact with people.

In the course of my research, I have become aware that some venture capitalists are seeking to make investments in congregational social enterprises. In some cases, these funders retain an ongoing interest in the congregational social enterprise. In other cases, the congregation buys the funder out overtime. As with any major financial transaction, congregational leaders are advised to think carefully about the terms and conditions set forth through a transaction with a funder.

OTHER OUTSIDE PARTIES

According to congregational leaders, the congregational social enterprise may also partner with other businesses, nonprofits, and other religious communities. Respondents for this study share that businesses have donated items and equipment to help launch congregational social enterprises. Other outside groups that may partner with

a congregational social enterprise include nonprofits, secondary schools, and universities. The congregation may rent space through which other nonprofits can provide services, open an off-campus student union, or house university classes. A unique form of cross-pollination may occur within the community when the congregational social enterprise partners with outside groups. As an open system, the barriers between the congregation and the community that surrounds it are lessened. At times, the social enterprise may attract volunteers from the community that are not part of the congregation. As one lay leader says, "We accept volunteers outside the church to work in the [thrift store] but because we're handling church funds every member on the . . . board has to be a member of the parish."

One advantage to establishing the social enterprise as a separate entity from the congregation is that the social enterprise may be able to attract unique partnerships with other religious communities or other outside parties. As one clergy leader says:

> You know, one of the big things about this is that it's separate from the church property. And we found that that's helpful because the church property is miles away. . . . But by being separate from the church property, what we're allowing at least in our setting is other churches to feel confident about doing ministry here because they're not doing ministry for or with [our denomination. . . . . They can] feel more comfortable. It doesn't have our banner on it. It kinda has a community banner on it.

In other cases, congregations have incorporated the congregational social enterprise as a separate entity, which has allowed the social enterprise to seek government funding and other grants that faith-based communities may otherwise be prohibited from obtaining.

In the limited number of cases where the congregational social enterprise was profitable, congregational leaders often use the proceeds from their social enterprise to make grants or use the funds to provide social services to clients in their area. This form

of ministry puts the nonprofit in contact with grantees and individuals in need. As a result, the social enterprise becomes a threshold between the congregation and the community that surrounds it. One lay leader refers to her church's social enterprise that provides grants to the community as the "public face of the parish." As a result of this interaction, this lay leader is among others who feels that the congregation has a better awareness of needs within the community, are aware of what is happening in the community, and feels a greater sense of connection with the community because of the social enterprise.

NEGOTIATIONS AND LEGAL STATUS

Especially when working with outside parties, legal negotiations may take considerable time. In some more complex cases, negotiations last between one and three years. Not only does the congregational leadership have to garner support of its membership, but also—depending on the religious tradition—gain the permission of denominational leaders before being able to enter into legal agreements with outside parties. There are different legal structures that congregational leaders have used to establish social enterprises. Generally, the legal status of the social enterprise falls under the congregation's own nonprofit ruling or is incorporated as a separate for profit or nonprofit entity. The social enterprises that fall under the congregation's charitable status are required to pay Unrelated Business Income Taxes on the income from the social enterprise or legally avoid tax liabilities because the income from the social enterprise does not meet the threshold established by the IRS and/or because the social enterprise is connected to the congregation's core religious mission. Congregations that establish separate entities may form a separate 501(c)(3) non-profit organization or a for profit

limited liability corporation. Some congregations actively manage their enterprises, while others hire management companies. The legal status of the congregational social enterprise is an important decisions, which should be made with the utmost care and concern for existing laws and potential tax obligations.

Congregational leaders emphasize the importance of establishing nonnegotiable principles that the congregation will not violate as it negotiates with outside parties. Pursuing social enterprise may force the congregation to wrestle with ethical dilemmas. For instance, the lay leadership of one congregation indicates that, in working with a management company to establish a hotel, the congregation had to wrestle with a proposal to sell alcohol. The denomination with which this congregation is associated generally advocates for abstinence. Moreover, there may be local, state, or federal laws that prohibit the congregation from refusing service to protected classes of individuals or groups.

COMMUNICATIONS AND PUBLIC RELATIONS

Communications and public relations are essential components contributing to the successful execution of a congregational social enterprise. A certain balance is required in order to communicate in a way that is transparent but not overwhelming or distracting. As one clergy leader says:

> We are in a precarious leadership position. . . . We don't yet have enough money to do all the renovations we want. And [the property] is not paid off. So, what we communicate to our congregation at this point is really important.

Regular communication to congregational leaders, key stakeholders, and church members needs to be regularly scheduled to emphasize mission impact, trustworthy financial accounting, faithful stewardship, and good governance. Congregational leaders note that

in some settings the weekly worship service is not the proper venue for these communications to occur. Others, however, encourage their brief, intermittent inclusion in worship. Communication also needs to occur with the social enterprise's external constituents and key demographic(s) for marketing purposes. If done properly, communications can generate resources, volunteers, and customers.

Although communications and public relations are an important contributing factor in the successful execution of a congregational social enterprise, some congregational leaders indicate that they regularly neglect the practice. As one clergy leaders says, "[We] get so busy doing the work . . . that we really forget [to communicate it]." For many clergy leaders, the demands of the congregation and the day-to-day operations of the social enterprise consume a great deal of time. Likewise, for many lay leaders, jobs, family commitments, and other responsibilities restrict the level of time they have to devote to communications. Nevertheless, communicating to key congregational and community constituencies is important. One clergy leader indicates that because of poor management and neglected communications their congregation received the reputation for being "the worst slum lord" in his city for rental property. This reputation reflected negatively on the congregation and persisted, in part, because communication and public relations were neglected.

Communications impacts the perception that the congregation has about the social enterprise. Generally, within established congregations, congregational leaders indicate that garnering "quiet" support for the social enterprise before announcing the plan to the whole congregation is effective. Premature communication without first ensuring that key congregational leaders are supportive can lead to opposition or delay within the

congregation's committee structure. When possible, leaders tend to draw on the congregation's own history to communicate the concept of the social enterprise in a way that is consistent with the congregation's collective memory. In so doing, the leader downplays the newness of the idea and reinforces the social enterprise as an extension of the congregation's historical ministry. As one clergy leader says, "[W]e don't want to cut ourselves off from the past of [our congregation]. It's part of our history, and we move forward. That's an important chapter as we work in the next fifty years and beyond."

Obviously, leaders of church plants are unable to draw from their congregation's specific history but may find benefit in making a connection with the congregation's denominational heritage or a relevant passage of scripture. Regardless of the setting (established congregation or church plant), the social enterprise tends to gain a better reception within the congregation when there is a general sense that the social enterprise is consistent with the underlying mission of the congregation.

After forming a compelling vision connected to the congregation's history, congregational leaders note the importance of establishing a common understanding of success and clear expectations of the membership. Without a common view of success, individuals within the congregation will define it on their own terms. If undefined, some members of the congregation may see profitability as the key measure of success, while others define success by the way the social enterprise impacts the community, and still others may define success by the direct impact that the social enterprise has on the congregation (gaining new members, for instance). Leaders, therefore, may manage expectations within the congregation by shaping the understanding of what success is. Similarly, congregational leaders describe effective communication as establishing clear

expectations for what will or will not be required of the membership. One clergy leader raised funds for the startup costs associated with the social enterprise from an angel investor. Although the congregation was initially resistant to the idea of starting a social enterprise, he assured the congregation that the venture would not require additional financial resources or their ongoing volunteer labor. As the clergy leader says, "Then, there was a sigh of relief. Then, it's sort of like okay, well, what will this entail?" Here, the clergy leader decreasing the congregation's general opposition to the social enterprise by managing the expectations of the members. In other situations, congregational leaders raise the level of expectation for the members of their congregation. These expectations include giving of their time, talent, and financial resources. Regardless of the approach taken, congregational leaders suggest that effective communications involves a common understanding of success and clear expectations of the congregation's membership.

Congregational leaders interviewed for this study describe elements of effective communication. First, simplicity is key. If the business plan is too complex for the average church member to understand, then the proposal will likely face resistance. As one clergy leader says:

> The moment that folks start getting the relevant idea—how we need to be present with community . . . which reflects our Christianity—folks saw the simplicity of it all. That's when people really were like, "Hey, man. Look. I can definitely see myself working with you on those kinds of things.

Those interviewed for this study say that it is not always necessary to announce every last detail of the social enterprise proposal. Instead, the leader should focus on the most immediate and relevant details that members of the congregation can effectively understand and absorb.

Congregational leaders advise paying particular attention to word choice and audience. Intentionally using words with a positive connotation can impact the way that the concept of social entrepreneurship is understood within the congregation. As one clergy leader says:

> So what's cool about [this journey is that] we're calling this time not the wilderness because it has such a negative connotation. We're calling it the frontier. We're being like the people that started the church as pioneers.

Using words and images with a positive connation can influence the perception that members of the congregation and the community have of the endeavor. Additionally, tailoring the message for a particular audience may also contribute to the enterprises success. In particular, one clergy leader notes that he frames his presentation of the social enterprise differently if he is discussing the endeavor with a group that is inside the congregation versus one that is outside the congregation.

Effective, regular communication allows congregational leaders to celebrate the success of their congregation's social enterprise and commend the employees and volunteers that make success possible. In particular, congregational leaders indicate that personal stories of transformation are particularly effective. One clergy leader shares that these personal accounts provide validity to the social enterprise that garners support and furthers overall momentum. Additionally, those interviewed for this study indicate that it is not only important to communicate the vision and successes of the social enterprise but also to acknowledge setbacks and failures. As one clergy leader says:

> [T]hey knew I was stable and steady. I gave reports. When we had to stop, I told them—truthful, transparent. When we had to change electricians, I told them, "This is going to delay and set [us] back." So I tried to keep my people abreast of the highs and the lows so they knew it.

Ultimately, communication about the social enterprise is the responsibility of the senior lay or clergy leadership. As one lay person says, "I just felt like as president it was important to communicate to the church what the mission of the [social enterprise] was to make sure that we get the parish involved and the community involved." Even after the social enterprise is launched, it is important that communication and ongoing education about the social enterprise continue. As one lay leader expressed:

> I don't think enough members of the church, especially as we had new families come in, knew what the [social enterprise] was. They didn't even know that it existed and were never quite sure what [we were] up to. You know it's been kind of a communication challenge for us.

LEADERSHIP FACTORS

One of the most valuable resources that a congregation possesses is its lay and clergy leadership. These leaders animate the activity of congregations. Leadership in establishing and operating a congregational social enterprise requires both perseverance and proactiveness. Perseverance is required because the social enterprise may face opposition in the congregation and because its development does not happen overnight. One clergy leader describes the process as "slow plowing." Thoughts about the social enterprise have to form, percolate, and gain acceptance before the social enterprise is established. At times, congregational leaders must interact with government and denominational officials. As has been mentioned, a congregational social enterprise can take more than a year of planning and discussion just to get off the ground. One congregational leader notes that simply amending the by-laws of the congregation's constitution took nine to eleven months to complete. Another congregational leader says, "[I]t took us almost three years to get the [social enterprise] remodeled and opened. So, that was crazy. We were here with signs on the window saying, 'Open Soon,' for almost

three years." Congregational social entrepreneurship requires patience and perseverance from its leadership.

The obstacles through which leaders must persevere include facing opposition within the congregation, not being able to secure a loan, running out of money, loss of congregational members or support, setbacks with contractors and developers, environmental and geological studies, not being able to find a suitable location, changes in denominational leadership, difficulties running the business, economic recession, a lack of volunteers or congregational participation, and a declining customer base. In the face of such setbacks, congregational social entrepreneurs do not give up. They persevere. When one solution does not work, the leader tries another.

The tenacity exhibited by congregational social entrepreneurs is strongest when the leader feels that they have a calling by God to pursue social entrepreneurship. As one lay leader describes his clergy leader:

> It was to the point where . . . he believed so much that this is where God was taking our church. He knew that pruning was going to happen—that there were going to be people who were not willing to follow. And he just knew he wasn't going to lay it down. He was going to pursue it, knowing that God had a bigger vision and a bigger plan in mind.

Feeling as if the vision for the social enterprise comes from God can give the leader the drive he or she needs to persevere. Sometimes, congregational leaders must change congregations or denominations before they are able to live into their vision of launching a congregational social enterprise.

Leadership in establishing and operating a congregational social enterprise also requires proactiveness. It is not enough to passively endure setbacks, opposition, and delays. Congregational leaders proactively take steps to make the social enterprise a

reality. As one lay leader says, congregational social entrepreneurs are "'make-it-happen' kind of people." They possess a boldness, a willingness not only to dream but also to act. They look for areas of need, potential property, and new possibilities. Many congregational social entrepreneurs have either a deep passion for their work or feel a burden to do something about a need in their community, not only addressing a superficial symptom but at times the underlying cause.

Congregational social entrepreneurship requires a certain degree of boldness of its leadership. Congregational social entrepreneurs are often willing to challenge and confront unhelpful voices and to take action even if it means initial loss. One lay leader indicated that these qualities are not always found in clergy leaders. He says:

> Honestly, there just aren't a lot of pastors like [our pastor] who is that tenacious and willing to step outside their comfort zone. I mean it's pretty intimidating for a pastor to put themselves out there with the city whether it's the town council or different managers of the departments from city government. But [our pastor] he's a bold person. . . .

This lay leader went on to describe how his clergy leader was so bold that he was even willing to lose members who were not convinced of the vision. In this way, congregational social entrepreneurs are willing to take charge and make decisions even if they are unpopular. In reflecting on her experience in her congregation, one lay leader says, "I'd like to ask God, 'Why in the heck did you choose me?' (Laugh) Probably because people call me a steamroller. [I used to be an] army nurse. [I am a] steamroller."

At the same time that congregational social entrepreneurs are bold, they are also prayerfully reflective and even-tempered. As one clergy leader cautioned:

> If you're [not careful as] a social entrepreneur, you will constantly wreck your church . . . because you will constantly rework, reimagine, rewonder, reevaluate. You won't let anything establish because you're constantly . . . like a kid with Legos. You're like, 'It's a spaceship. It's a house. It's not

> anything.' You know? [When that happens] in the parish, you can become a problem.

Another clergy leader describes the risk of an unbridled leader like that of "a junkie looking for the next deal." So, while there is a certain degree of boldness required with congregational social entrepreneurs, there is also an active and thoughtful restraint that is required of congregational leadership.

In all cases examined for this study, congregational social entrepreneurs are (eventually) willing to say yes to the concept of congregational social entrepreneurship. These congregational leaders tend to be optimistic, forward-thinking, creative, and willing to take risks. They see possibilities and find interest in the concept of social entrepreneurship. When one lay leader was asked about her initial reaction to the concept of social enterprise, she responded, "It was exciting." Not all congregational leaders experience the same degree of initial excitement, however. Initial responses range from outright rejection to skepticism, hesitancy, cautious support, passive support, and enthusiastic support. Often, when a congregational leader outright rejects the idea of a congregational social enterprise, it is because they think the idea is "crazy." As one lay leader says:

> On the way home, my wife and I were talking, . . . and I said, . . . "If that preacher thinks you and me are going to help him open a business, he's crazy. (Laugh). I'm not doing that!" Rejection is usually based upon fear of change within the church, the high cost of the project, the state of the overall economy, a moral or missional objection to the idea of a congregation starting a business, and/or concern for how the social enterprise will impact the congregation and its finances.

Skepticism may result from a lack of confidence that the congregation can successfully launch a social enterprise or that the congregation can move quickly enough to be effective. Hesitancy may result from a lack of understanding of the concept of

social enterprise, lack of awareness of its incorporation in the congregational setting, or reservations about the process by which the social enterprise is being developed. Cautious support occurs when a congregational leader has reservations about the idea of social enterprise but supports the initiative based upon the rapport of another person. Passive support occurs when a congregational leader gives blessing for the social enterprise to develop but does not actively support its development. Enthusiastic support occurs when the congregational leader is actively supportive of the endeavor to launch a social enterprise with their influence, time, and talents. Over time, a congregational leader can move across the spectrum, towards enthusiastic support or towards rejection. In the case described above where the lay leader felt that the idea of congregational social enterprise was "crazy," he eventually became the key lay leader responsible for helping the clergyperson establish the social enterprise. The lay leader says, "Little did I know. Don't ever say 'never'. Because we did. It's worked out. You wouldn't believe the people who got involved with [the social enterprise]. Came from all background, and it just worked great."

Regardless of the lay or clergy leader's initial reaction, the eventual support from both parties is critical. One clergy leader shares that the support of a single lay leader was critical in the development of his social enterprise. He says:

> So, I came back from the mountaintop experience a little nervous, not knowing what they're going to think about, you know, [the social enterprise]. What if we knock down our [church] building and did something like that? We went through all our reports. It costs this much to renovate, and it costs this much to build a new one. . . . So, I cast the vision. I was so relieved when one of the women in the group, she heard all the stuff that we've been doing and she literally threw [the other reports] over her shoulders. She's like, "I'm in." That was a great defining moment.

Similarly, the support of a clergy leader is also critical. One lay leader describes her anxiety about obtaining clergy support every time the clergy leader changes. She says:

> [W]ithin the last ten years we have had some turnover in [pastors], and I think every time you get that kind of change people pause to wonder what's going to happen with [our social enterprise]. A couple of times when I was president and that happened, I would definitely meet with the new rector, share what we're doing, and all of that.

As established in Chapter 2, a collaborative partnership is necessary for congregational social entrepreneurship to occur.

Congregational social entrepreneurs personally commit the time required to bring the social enterprise to fruition. Although the commitment may vary based upon the specific context and the stage of the social enterprise's development, some congregational leaders commit between ten and sixty hours a week to the social enterprise. These leaders make every effort to ensure that their social enterprise is a success. As one clergy leader says:

> I wanted to make sure it worked. So, I invested a lot of my energy, efforts, and time to make sure I could do anything in my human power to make sure it got going and it was done right. I tried to do everything I could to make it successful from the beginning.

In one case, the clergy leader does any task that is required within the congregational social enterprise, even busing tables. As one clergy leader says, "I'd roll up my sleeve and get in there and paint, get in there and clean windows and do whatever we need to do to get the thing going. So, I've worn all the hats."

Part of a congregational leader's proactiveness is being prepared, doing research, and anticipating questions before they are asked. As one clergy person says:

> [I was having a conversation with] the CFO of [my denomination]. I told him what I wanted to do. He asked me if I had any proforma[e]. I said, "I just so happen to have about fourteen of them right here." And I reached

> into my briefcase. From there, it was just a conversation of how do we make something like this happen.

Many congregational leaders share that they do a significant amount of research before launching a social enterprise. This research includes visiting other similar social enterprises, talking with other social entrepreneurs, doing market research, and conducting taste tests.

PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS

THE DEVELOPMENT OF VISION FOR CONGREGATIONAL SOCIAL ENTERPRISE

The vision for a congregational social enterprise originates from one of two sources: from God or from the congregational leader. In one case, a lay leader had a vision from God during a dream to start a thrift store in her congregation. She describes her experience: “It was kind of out of the clear blue sky. . . . It was more than clear, it was a COMMAND! It wasn’t a dream. No. It came to me like a command!” In most other instances where God is the source of the vision, congregational leaders describe the vision as being “God-inspired.” Here, the congregational leader does not receive a direct command from God to operate the social enterprise. However, the congregational leader does express a confidence that the vision is in fact from God. As one clergy leader says, “I believe in the vision. I believe it's a strong vision that God has given us. It's exciting. I love the challenge. I'm grateful that I have an opportunity to do something in ministry that I've never done before. I find that rewarding.” Congregational leaders indicate they have felt that God has confirmed this vision through the provision of land, financing, or a unique opportunity.

Alternatively, the vision for the congregational social enterprise may come from the congregational leader. Although the vision can be inherited from a former clergy or lay leader, the vision for a congregational social enterprise must be embraced by the current lay and clergy leadership. Typically, when describing the vision for their congregation's social enterprise, leaders express either 1) a sense of personal dissatisfaction with the way things are in the congregation or in the world, 2) an awareness of need within the community, and/or 3) a desire to put the assets of the congregation to use (e.g. the gifts of the congregational members and/or the property of the congregation).

One clergy leader experienced a sense of personal dissatisfaction with the exclusiveness of his congregation. He envisioned founding a congregational coffee shop that would be open to the public. The clergy leader describes the formulation of this vision:

> I'm sitting in Starbucks, and I'm praying. I'm looking around and realizing that I'm in Starbucks because I don't want to be in the church building. Not because I don't love it. . . . It's home for me. But I could never really get anything else. And so, I'm sitting in this coffee shop, and I'm like thinking about that part. And I look over, and I see there's a group of guys and women that are all professionally dressed, and they're just talking away. But they look like they've each come from somewhere else. They're not in packs. They're individual people. . . . There's a single guy who had weird maps he was unfolding. . . . I think they were aeronautical maps. He was like the old school doing flight stuff. It was interesting probably to be around him. And then, I saw a group of women that I know who mix from different churches, and they were doing . . . a Beth Moore [Bible] study in the corner just talking away and having a laugh. I could see all the booklets on the tables, right? And I thought: Man, everybody feels welcome here. Everybody feels like they have a right [to be] here. On one end of the shop, you've got somebody that's there doing the American business thing. And on that other side of the shop, there are hardcore Jesus [thing].

In this moment the clergy leader desired to create a space through his congregation where all people could feel welcome.

The vision for a congregational social enterprise may come from a congregational leader's awareness of a need in the community. In one instance, a clergy leader envisions developing a congregational thrift store to fund a program to provide backpack lunches for under-served public-school students on the weekends. In another instance, through a conversation with the members of a low-income community, a clergy leader discovers that young people in the area do not have positive role models or opportunities for job training. As a result, the clergy leader envisions establishing a congregational coffee roasting and candle company where his congregation can meet these two great needs.

At other times, the congregational leader simply observes underutilized assets in the congregation. These can be the gifts and training of the congregation's membership or underutilized financial or property assets. In one case, a lay leader, between jobs, learned that the church had a culinary trained chef who has been released from prison. She dreamed of her congregation starting a restaurant that would provide job training and culinary skills for youth.

Therefore, the formation for the vision of a social enterprise results either from God or the congregational leader. In either instance, at least one person—but preferably more than one person—must uncompromisingly own the vision and champion its cause. There is a sense of firm resolve within the congregational leaders who put forth such a vision. One lay leader describes the deep resolve of his clergy leader:

> [Our pastor] believed in [the vision] so much that he wasn't a cheerleader. I mean it because [he felt like,] "This is where God is leading me, and you can follow or you can leave." That sounds really harsh. It wasn't that harsh. He did not communicate it like that. But it was more than a

> cheerleader. It was: "I'm leading the church this direction." He just knew that God was paving something new and that is [our pastor].

In this way, there is a sense of firm ownership and importance that the congregational leader expresses publicly towards their social enterprise.

The vision is most successfully embraced when it is the vision of the congregation and not a single congregational leader. By expanding the responsibility for the social enterprise's development and operation, the congregational leader invites participation and establishes broad ownership. As one clergy leader says:

> So I am using my leadership team to lead small group discussions in the church. . . . And they are having conversations with people in the community to identify [the needs upon which we will place] emphasis [in our social enterprise].

GAINING LEGITIMACY FOR THE VISION OF CONGREGATIONAL SOCIAL ENTERPRISE

Once the vision for the congregational social enterprise begins to take shape, the idea for the social enterprise must gain legitimacy in the congregation. There are at least four factors influencing the legitimacy of a vision for congregational social enterprise: the culture of the congregation, the alignment of the vision with the mission of the congregation, the influence and respect of the congregational leadership, and instances of outside success.

THE CULTURE OF THE CONGREGATION

According to the congregational leadership interviewed for this study, the culture of the congregation may determine whether or not the idea of the social enterprise is able to gain traction within the congregation. The membership must be willing to take on risk and enter uncharted waters. As a clergy leader says:

> [I]f this is something that God is doing, then [a certain] amount of prayer and communal risk need to be a part of your [congregation's] culture. The world might say this is not right. . . . But God is going be saying this [is] totally different. . . . [So,] there's going [need to be a lot of] risk takers because you believe in your idea.

Similarly, a lay leader says:

> People have always known [the culture our congregation] as a risk-taking church that we thought outside the box. We did things that just other churches wouldn't do. Some of them failed and some of them were good. But people kind of knew that about us and so through the years we kind of gathered a congregation of people who were risk takers as well so that helped in the process.

The capacity of a congregation's culture for risk is paramount in any new endeavor, especially congregational social enterprise.

In addition to being willing to take risk, the congregation's culture must also be one that is positive, creative, and willing to dream. One clergy leader says that the lay leadership of his congregation was willing to "think outside the box." Another clergy leader describes his congregation as unafraid to try new things. One of the elements of congregational culture that this clergy leader identifies as key is a willingness to try and fail. He says that if a new initiative does not work, he will either make adjustments to its operations or discontinue its practice. Regardless, his congregation learns from its failures and maintains the practices that produce success. The success or failure of a given initiative may be directly tied to the congregation's culture, and just because an operation works in one congregation it may not work in another. As this lay leader says, "We tried a lot of different things. Some things worked other places, and I have tried them here. I can't get them to work. It's a cultural thing."

Other cultural attributes that are significant in the reception of social enterprise in a congregation are a good attitude, healthy relationships among leadership, a shared

understanding of the mission of the congregation, and an outward, missional orientation to the community. This is not to say that congregations that do not possess some or all of these attributes are unable to launch a social enterprise. It only means that there may be some initial tension and natural resistance. When asked if he recalled the church ever having done anything like this before, a lay leader responded that the establishment of a congregational social enterprise was way "out of the comfort zone" of his congregation. A two-hundred-year-old congregation, this lay leader says that his congregation had not done anything outside of traditional forms of ministry (Sunday morning worship, Sunday School, and vacation Bible School) for as long as he could remember. However, with the encouragement of the congregation's leadership, his congregation was willing to try something new by establishing a congregational social enterprise. While the barriers to entry may be less among a newly established church without many existing traditions, older congregations can—under the right circumstances and with the right culture—effectively introduce social enterprise in the congregational setting. Congregational leaders who desire to establish a congregational social enterprise may find benefit in cultivating the appropriate culture for social enterprise before introducing the concept formally.

ALIGNMENT WITH THE MISSION OF THE CONGREGATION

As has been established, the vision for congregational social entrepreneurship is best received when the mission of the social enterprise aligns with the mission of the congregation. If the social enterprise advances an already deeply valued aspect of ministry for the congregation, is connected to some form of spiritual formation, and/or is presented as based in scripture, the congregation is more likely to find legitimacy in the

idea. A congregational social enterprise may connect to the mission of the congregation by taking the congregation beyond its walls. A number of congregational leaders interviewed for this study say that their social enterprise helps the congregation fulfill the Great Commission to go into the world. One clergy leader says:

> I think that the whole mission of the church is outside the church, and if you can't get outside the church, you can't carry out your mission to make disciples and help people. So, I've always seen it as a challenge to get outside the walls of the church and the thrift store gave us the perfect opportunity to get outside, to encounter people in a different environment, and be able to [connect with] people that we normally would not come into contact with.

Congregational leaders interviewed for this study speak of the "compatibility" of the social enterprise within the ministry of the congregation. For instance, the social enterprise may become an outlet for the congregation to serve the community and offer "hands on ministry" to members of the congregation. As one lay leader says:

> Yes, it's a business. . ., but equally important is the aspect of it that it is a ministry to our community, to our parishioners and to those that are facing challenges in daily life. To me that part of the ministry is as important if not more important than the actual dollars raised.

In this way, the congregational social enterprise offers an opportunity for the congregation to serve the community and be involved in ministry. The

Many of the leaders interviewed for this study also say that their idea for congregational social enterprise gains legitimacy when they use a scriptural basis for the social enterprise. For instance, common verses used are from Matthew 25:40 ("Whatever you do for the least of these"), John 4 ("the woman at the well"), and John 6 ("the feeding of the 5,000"). In certain cases, a scripture might be used as the basis for opposition to the social enterprise. When this occurs, one pastoral leader uses the scripture that has been

used to oppose the social enterprise to show how the passage is actually consistent with and supportive of the social enterprise.

THE INFLUENCE AND RESPECT FOR THE CONGREGATIONAL LEADER

For the social enterprise to gain legitimacy within the congregation, not only must the idea for the social enterprise gain support within the congregation but also the leader him or herself must also be seen as being trustworthy and respected. As one clergy leader says, his congregation became receptive to the idea of social enterprise when they "began to know my heart."

At times, gaining the confidence of the congregation may require more than research and a good business plan. It may also rely on the perception that congregational members have of the leader. Interpersonal relationships and public perception of the leader are important. This may require the leader to even make changes to his or her appearance. In order to garner support within his congregation, one lay leader—who is a full-time Civil War re-enactor—had to shave his long beard and buy a "business" suit. Presenting himself as a "business man," this lay leader was able to convince his congregation that he and his wife were trustworthy and responsible social entrepreneurs. Speaking of his appearance, the lay leader says, "It was the visual thorn, in the side of a lot of people. . . . I was the antithesis, I'm sure, of who they thought should be doing this." His wife continues:

> And I remember when he cut his hair it was the talk of the congregation. "Why did you cut your hair?" He had to now start presenting himself as a business man. . . . There was still that barrier that had to be broken.

Therefore, the perception of a congregational leader by members of the congregation may influence the receptivity the congregation has to the leader's ideas.

The tenure, social networks, and experience of congregational leaders also impacts the reception social enterprise receives in a congregation. Typically, the opinions of congregational leaders with greater longevity tend to carry a great deal of influence. When asked why his congregation did not lose members with the establishment of his congregation's social enterprise, one clergy leader says:

> Well, I am a long-term pastor. They knew I wasn't going anywhere. That's important. You might have ten people here from when I started. Longevity in pastoral work is key because I was here when they came. [With] some of them, I'm here when they leave. So, [the congregation] knew I was stable and steady.

Typically, those with longer tenure also have deeper social networks within the congregation. Husband Don and wife Peggy are lay leaders who had trouble launching a social enterprise in their congregation. They describe the point at which the idea for the social enterprise gained traction in their congregation:

> Peggy: Then they got a lady in there. . . . She is a longstanding member of the congregation.
>
> Don: That was our edge in right there.
>
> Peggy: She is connected socially in the congregation. She put the word out that she needed volunteers. Lo and behold, all these people started volunteering.
>
> Don: Because they hit the top level of the church.

Congregational leaders are advised to ensure support for the congregational social enterprise from the main power brokers and influencers within the congregation.

Additionally, the experience of the congregational leadership can also add to the legitimacy of a congregational social enterprise. For instance, some of the congregational

leaders interviewed for this study have a professional background owning businesses, managing major projects for corporations, and opening fast food chain restaurants among others. When a leader brings relevant experience from the business world to a congregational social enterprise, they tend to receive a warmer welcome when the idea is presented to the congregation. Therefore, a congregational leader's tenure, deep social networks, and relevant business experience directly impact the receptivity for the idea of social entrepreneurship in the congregational setting.

OUTSIDE SUCCESS

Beyond appealing to the internal values of the congregation and the influence and respect of the leader, the idea of social enterprise gains legitimacy within a congregation when the leader can point to other social enterprises that have experienced success. Because so few congregational social enterprises exist, congregational leaders often have to look to other sectors to identify models that will work. As one clergy leader says, "The hard part is nobody that we know of in [our denomination] has done anything like this. So, we're in such a new territory." Even if the social enterprise is not directly applicable to the context of the particular congregation, there may be valuable lessons that the congregational leadership can learn. One clergy leader says:

> We went [to see a social enterprise run by a church]. . . . They have a skyscraper. They own it. They lease that out to a lot of people. A lot of attorneys are there. But they also have a church in there. We went and talked to them. They were great. They told us what they're doing well and what they would do differently, what's not working well. It's fascinating. . . . We realized we're not going to build a skyscraper in [our area]. But from that came the idea of what if we were able to build a mixed-use development. The church would serve as the anchor. . . .

CONCLUSION

The establishment of congregational social enterprise requires leaders to navigate administrative, leadership, and practical concerns. As a result, congregational leaders are advised to have a deep understanding of their denomination's polity and their congregation's specific leadership structure. There may be formal, codified regulations or policies that specify how decisions are made within their particular religious tradition. It is important to realize that while a congregation's formal committee and governance structures are important, however, informal and unofficial networks existing within the congregation may be equally important. Congregational leaders are advised communicate strategically and consistently to the membership of the congregation about the social enterprise.

It does not appear that congregational social enterprise can be established by an individual without the support of others. Congregational leaders may find benefit in starting the conversation about social enterprise with a small group and building a collation of supporters before a formal vote is taken. This process takes time. Typically, decisions are not made quickly within congregations. Congregational social entrepreneurs must be willing to persevere despite opposition and bureaucratic obstacles. Having investors and/or developers who share the vision of the congregational social enterprise may keep all parties connected to the project for an extended period of time while negotiations take place. At times, obstacles may be insurmountable, and the congregational social entrepreneur may face the choice of giving up on their dream or changing congregations to purse their dream. Establishing a congregational social enterprise requires a substantial commitment on behalf of its leadership.

The culture of a congregation plays a substantial role in the development of congregational social enterprise, which may ultimately be outside of the direct control of the congregational leader. If a congregation has had a bad experience with an innovative ministry program, congregational leaders may face substantial opposition. As a result, leaders need to indicate how they have learned from the past experience and detail how the congregational social enterprise is substantively different from the past venture. Drawing connections between the social enterprise and the ministry and mission of the congregation may also the congregational social entrepreneur in gaining acceptance for the social enterprise.

While this chapter has looked at the contributing factors leading to the establishment of congregational social enterprise, future research could examine the causes of a social enterprise's failure or discontinuation. Scholars may also choose to investigate the ways that congregations are able to establish partnerships with outside parties, particularly government agencies. It may also be helpful to investigate how senior and mid-level denominational officials respond to congregational social enterprise and influence or control its development. This study has revealed that the establishment of a congregational social enterprise must be carefully considered by congregational leaders. Lay and clergy leaders are advised to consider the impact that the congregational social enterprise may have on the congregation, its resources, and its ongoing operations. Congregational leaders should also be aware of the legal requirements and potential tax liabilities in establishing a social enterprise within their congregation.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This exploratory study has examined the lay and clergy leadership of American Protestant congregations that are pursuing (or have pursued) social enterprise. Drawing on forty-four in-depth, semi-structured interviews with lay and clergy leaders representing a diverse sample of twenty-six American congregations from four Protestant traditions and six geographic regions, I have asked: Who are these congregational social entrepreneurs (their role and their theology)? Why do they engage in congregational social entrepreneurship (motivations)? And how do they go about establishing social ventures (experiences)?

The individual roles that lay and clergy leaders embrace are distinct and vary by context. My data suggest that there is not a single, unified role that lay or clergy leaders occupy across all congregational settings. More distinct roles may emerge by examining congregational leaders in a single denomination, congregational size, theological tradition, racial category, or type of social venture. Nevertheless, as lay and clergy leaders become involved in congregational social enterprise, they begin to assume new roles traditionally associated with their counterparts. Lay leaders take on a ministerial role, and clergy leaders take on a business role.

The blurring of these identities leads to the establishment of a new, shared role that is embraced across all contexts, namely the role of collaborative partner as a congregational social entrepreneur. Historically, collaborative partnerships between lay and clergy leaders (also known as shared jurisdiction) have produced friction and conflict. However, my sample of congregational social entrepreneurs fully embrace

the collaborative partnership that exists between their lay and clergy counterparts. My data reveal a sense of trust, rapport, and mutual respect among lay and clergy leaders. Integrating secular and religious identities as well as business and ministry logics, lay and clergy leaders become innovators, risk-takers, initiators, and instigators within their congregations. This role generally follows the literature on nonprofit social entrepreneurs but distinctively contrasts with the existing literature on the traditional roles of congregational leadership.

Monahan (1999) has suggested that changing roles "may . . . alter [the] views of religious professionals and religious organizations" (p 92). Embracing the role of congregational social entrepreneur corresponds with a common theological understanding. These theological reflections are essential for the leader's personal identity and organizational self-understanding. Indeed, a religious community cannot be fully understood apart from its theology.

Prompting my respondents with scriptures that could be used to support or oppose the practice of congregational social enterprise, I synthesized leader reflections through a constructive, practical theology process. The data suggest that there are at least three main theological tenets of congregational social entrepreneurs, applying across contexts: 1) Work is good, 2) Business can be good, and 3) Business can be ministry. The main theological concerns that respondents express about improper business activity are related to cheating individuals, profiteering from these individuals, and commoditizing spiritual experiences.

Although anyone engaged in social enterprise could potentially accept the first two theological tenets (work is good and business can be good) from a philosophical

standpoint, the third theological tenant is particular to persons of faith. Lay and clergy leaders understand their work as a form of ministry. The way that this theology is expressed relates to the personal theological orientation of the congregational leader. One clergy leader describes the origin of his congregational social enterprise, which was established concurrently with the opening of his congregation:

> The founding question we asked when we planted the church was: If Jesus lived in [our area], what would he be doing with his time? That could be answered a million different ways depending on which end of the denominational spectrum you land, but for us, it was simply: Jesus was demonstrating selflessness and giving and caring for his community, [being] present in people's lives, and demonstrating what I believe is kind of the core base of what the gospel message is: selflessness.

Notice how the clergy leader indicates that his basic question was related to his understanding of what Jesus would be doing in his area. This leader's theological understanding of Jesus' selfless, community-based, helping ministry manifests itself in the type, form, and function of the congregational social enterprise that this clergy leader established. Furthermore, the clergy leader suggests that there are likely "a million different ways" that individuals from different denominational perspectives could answer this question. Insofar as a leader sees social enterprise as a form of ministry, the social enterprise becomes a lived theological artifact reflecting the theological orientation of the congregational leader and his or her community setting.

Although there appears to be a reorientation to the understanding of what congregational leaders do (role) and how they think about their work (theology), the underlying motivations for congregational social enterprise are consistent with a traditional understanding of ministry. While I acknowledge that general

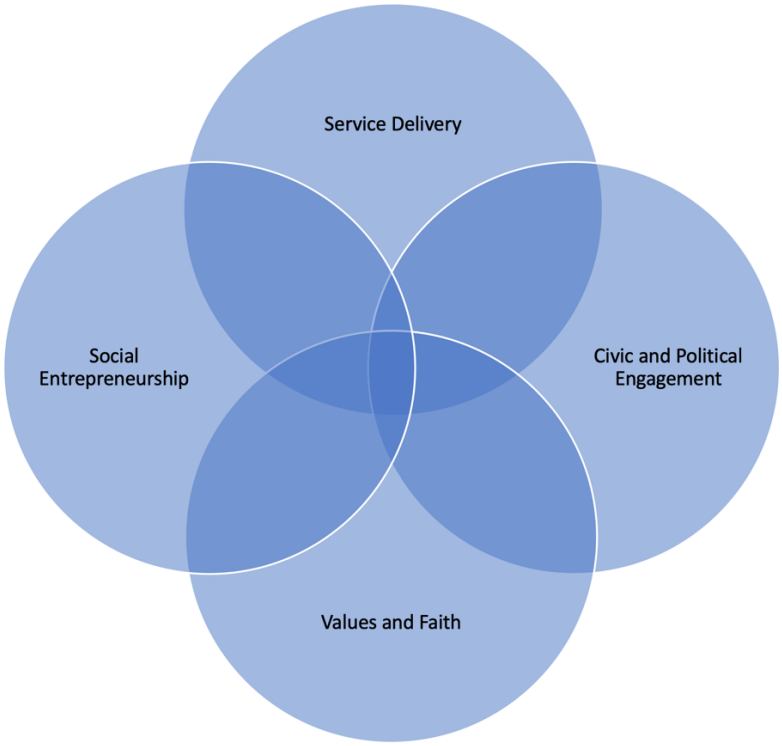
motivations exist for congregational social enterprise, leading motivations are more directly tied to an instrumentally expressive function of faith. The data suggest that the vision for the congregational social enterprise aligns with the religious identity of the entrepreneur and that the vision for the congregational social enterprise aligns with the religious mission of the congregation.

When I first began my research, I predicted that the pursuit of congregational social enterprise was related to a decline in financial resources and anticipated, as with other nonprofit contexts, that motivations would be for an "instrumental" desire for financial gain. Frumkin (2002) has conceived of social entrepreneurship primarily as a utilitarian feature of the nonprofit sector serving an instrumental function. However, I found that mission (not money) is the primary driver. I was shocked to see how many congregational leaders indicate that their social venture is not profitable and must be subsidized by voluntary donations of the congregation's membership. I do not deny that there are utilitarian, instrumental motivations present within congregational social enterprise. However, they are not central. A more wholistic understanding of the function of congregational social enterprise is understood as instrumentally expressive.

The findings of this dissertation have important implications for practitioners and academics alike. My study complicates Frumkin (2002) analysis by pointing to a context for social enterprise transcending and blurring otherwise clearly defined boundaries. While a full analysis is beyond the scope of this initial study, the overlapping nature of faith and social enterprise

leads me to conjecture about whether the entire nonprofit sector as a whole might be better represented with this overlapping format. See Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1: The Four Intersecting Functions of Nonprofit and Voluntary Action, adapted from Frumkin (2002).



Consider, for instance, the role that "faith and values" played during the Civil Rights Movement. Although the Civil Rights Movement may be located in the "Civic and Political Engagement" function of the nonprofit sector, congregations (and congregational leaders, in particular) played a large role in the origins, development, and effectiveness of the movement overall. Therefore, an overlapping theoretical construct may better and more accurately represent the nature of the nonprofit sector.

For the benefit of practitioners, I have documented the practical experiences of congregational leaders as they establish congregational social enterprises. Congregational social entrepreneurs encounter administrative, leadership, and practical challenges. From an administrative perspective, they must work with those inside and outside of the congregation, negotiate business contracts, and communicate with members of the congregation. From a leadership perspective, they must be patient and persevere, even while encountering obstacles, negotiating bureaucratic procedures, and facing opposition. From a practical standpoint, congregational leaders must develop a vision for the social enterprise and work to help the vision gain legitimacy amongst the congregation's membership and leadership.

FURTHER IMPLICATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

In the spring of 2018, I traveled to an urban setting to interview congregational leaders who had developed a portion of their congregation's property into a twenty-eight-story condominium complex. This structure towers over all of the buildings surrounding it. At its base occupying the first two floors, the building houses a brand new 2,500 seat sanctuary. While walking around this massive structure and gazing towards the sky, I realized that in generations past a congregation's lofty spire would also have visually towered over its community—usually with an imposing steeple pointing to the divine. Now, in this new, urban context, the congregation's "tower" is not a steeple drawing the onlooker's gaze towards the heavens but instead a residential skyscraper functioning as a congregational social enterprise.

Entrepreneurial leaders have developed this property as an instrumental expression of ministry, providing low income housing to those in their area as well as

space for some of the city's nonprofits to meet and conduct business. For this congregation, this structure has become a theological artifact representing something of the congregational leaders' understanding of God, the way they conceive of their congregation's purpose within the community, and their vision of how faith interacts with the world.

The literature has portrayed congregations primarily as "houses of worship" focusing on religious ritual and spiritual education (Chaves, 2009). Although American congregations have historically hosted many types of activities and functions, congregations have not primarily served as centers for commerce. Even within minority communities where business activity has been part of the religious culture of the congregation, these business matters would more likely be considered secondary to the primary function of the congregation's religious mission.

However, many lay and clergy social entrepreneurs are reimagining the core purposes and central, orienting function of American congregations. In some ways, this practice is new and, in some ways, it is a continuation of what has already existed. People of faith have been responsible for social innovation in a variety of contexts across the centuries. However, at least for the past one hundred years, America's faith-based innovation has predominantly occurred in the parachurch sector. The setting, therefore, of *congregational* social enterprise is significant. These leaders are innovating not outside of but within the congregational setting.

The emergence of this type of activity within the congregational setting suggests that changes are occurring within American culture and American religious life. What does it mean that lay and clergy leaders feel the need to connect with their communities

in these new ways? Cannon and Donnelly-Cox (2015) have documented the adaptation of Irish peace organizations following the accord between Ireland and Northern Ireland. When the conflict known as "The Troubles" ended, many Irish peace organizations became culturally irrelevant. However, some of these organizations evolved to reassert their presence within Irish society. The process by which organizations lose their established legitimacy is known as deinstitutionalization (Oliver, 1992, p. 564). This field of research indicates that organizations and their leadership are willing to overcome organizational inertia and to take on risky "illegitimate" actions in an effort to either sustain their operations or re-institutionalize their presence within society (Jepperson, 1991; Scott, 2008). Could it be that the existence of congregational social entrepreneurs indicates that Protestant congregations have lost some element of cultural standing in America? Wuthnow (1990) has noted that the "capacity to adapt" in the midst of significant change has been one of the most striking facets of American religion (pp. 5-6). The practice of developing congregational social enterprise becomes a tool for congregational leaders to express their religious values in the world by connecting with their society, building relationships, and improving their communities.

These innovations are occurring across a diverse cross-section of congregations. It is not that the leadership of congregational social enterprise is only emerging in one specific area of the country, from one theological perspective, from one socio-economic level, or from one racial community. This practice is taking root across American Protestantism. In Chapter 4, I mentioned that I attended two independently organized, national conferences on congregational social enterprise. One was sponsored by a mainline denomination. The other was sponsored by an evangelical denomination. The

fact that multiple American denominations are hosting multi-day intensive gatherings on this topic with participants from across the country indicates that congregational social enterprise is beginning to formalize institutionally. Additionally, through the course of my research, I have become acquainted with two different national consultants who specialize in assisting congregations as they establish congregational social enterprises. In addition to gaining institutional legitimacy, the demand by congregations for social enterprise is also growing its own market. Moreover, during one of my interviews, I learned that a clergy leader, who is part of a mainline congregation with sister churches in other parts of the world, is currently developing training materials that will be used to help lay and clergy leaders establish congregational social enterprises around the globe. Could it be that the instances of congregational social enterprise described in this exploratory study are a harbinger of what is to come for a segment of Protestant religious life in American and beyond?

In some ways, congregational social enterprise could be considered a return to the days of the New Testament church when the Apostle Paul, the tentmaker, did his work in the marketplace and preached in the agora of the cities he visited. Nevertheless, I welcome the scholars who will apply critical theological, economic, and social lenses on this activity in future research. The conditional nature of the theology of social enterprise I have developed herein suggests that business is *not always* good or holy. Congregational social enterprise could easily be corrupted for malicious proposes, private inurement, or spiritual exploitation. This practice invites significant moral, ethical, and political questions about legal status, the separation of church and state, and tax obligations, among others.

Further research could also examine the role of congregational social enterprises by marginalized, minority, and underrepresented groups. A key trend in American philanthropy is the increasing use of the voluntary sector by suppressed and marginalized groups. As McCarthy (2005) notes, philanthropy challenged the "parameters of gender, class and race" in American history (p. 5). Congregational social enterprise offers a unique opportunity for the expression of gifts and leadership that otherwise would not likely have been valued in a more traditional congregational setting. In this way, congregational social enterprise becomes a platform for those who have been historically excluded from leadership within the church and/or society as well as those who have not felt an opportunity for the full expression of their gifts or personality within the church.

For instance, according to my interviews with two leaders from the same mid-Atlantic congregation, the women of this congregation founded a thrift store more than sixty years ago. In the mid-1950s, neither their denomination nor society at large would have welcomed or permitted their leadership in the church or in a business setting. Nevertheless, congregational social enterprise provided the opportunity for these pioneering women to offer formal leadership within the church and in within the "business" world. As the lay respondent I interviewed indicated:

> [I]f you kind of look through the history of the church, women were kind of relegated to certain kinds of ministries and missions, and all that. I think our history is that [one woman] made money from needlepoint and gave that money in her will to start [the] church. So, women, I think, have felt this sense of empowerment since that's how the whole church was funded to begin with.

Today, this social enterprise generates more than $300,000 in revenue annually which is used to make grants in the community. At its inception, this congregational social

enterprise became a way for women to gain a platform to exert autonomy, voice, self-determination, and control within their church, the business world, and society at-large.

In addition to women, congregational social enterprise offers an opportunity for individuals who have faced incarceration to find places of meaningful contribution within their congregation and society. In one instance, a lay leader was a prominent member of his state's banking community when he was convicted of a felony on bank fraud charges. Sent to prison and ostracized from banking, this lay leader was able to offer his gifts to the church in a redemptive way. He conceived of a plan for the church to purchase property that can be used for social entrepreneurship and became the head of the church's finance committee. As the clergy leader says reflecting on this individual:

> This [real estate deal] is a brainchild of Tim. So, he's got a felony, served time on it, got out of prison, and came back to town. And this is his home church. [He has] been here since he was a kid. [The former pastor . . .] approached Tim about being the chair of church counsel. And so. you talk about a redemption story. It's awesome. So, Tim is now my finance chair. He served time doing finance things badly, and he's the best finance chair I've ever had. Everything is above board.

In another context, social enterprise has provided an opportunity for convicted felons. One of my interviewees was convicted on four felonies for drug charges. He indicates that his future was bleak and with little, if any, family support. Nevertheless, his congregation, surrounded him with love and a sense of purpose. Upon his release from prison, the leadership of his congregation encouraged him to use his culinary gifts to serve the church and the world. Accordingly, he along with the congregation's leadership, opened a social enterprise restaurant that provides job training for at-risk young people. The chef—a lay leader—says:

> [A member of the church asked] if I was interested in helping them run a class. Do something with the neighborhood kids. . . . Imagine that. They're

> gonna hire me, a four-time felon, you know? Like it shouldn't have happened. . . . The fact that I'm here. I'm not shot, or dead, or in prison for the rest of my life. It's a miracle. It really is. I just am so grateful. It's really God. It's really Him. It's all Him.

When asked about what he enjoys most about his current role, the lay leader responded, "I get to use my God-given talent to bless people. So, when you go to work and it doesn't feel like work, that's pretty amazing." In this way, congregational social enterprise offers the opportunity for individuals who have been convicted, even of serious crimes, to exert leadership within their congregation and also offer their gifts to the world.

A few of the congregational leaders interviewed for this study have designed their social enterprise to work with youth. In these congregational social enterprises, youth are trained to do landscaping, roast coffee, make soap, and learn culinary arts. One clergy leader discussed an overall lack of participation among youth in his congregation across all socio-economic bounds. Some of the youth in his congregation were not coming to the church's youth programs because they could not afford to fully participate, especially in mission trips, ski trips, and retreats. At the higher end of the socioeconomic spectrum, other youth were not fully participating in youth programming because they were so involved in other activities such as travel sports. The clergy leader launched a social enterprise, hiring the youth and teaching them the landscaping business. In addition to teaching these youth business acumen and financial management, the clergy leader makes a discipleship program available to the youth. In this way, the clergy leader is taking a wholistic approach to caring for the youth of his congregation and further connecting them to the congregation. Additionally, the youth who would otherwise be marginally involved in their congregation are offered the opportunity to provide significant leadership within the congregation's social enterprise.

Congregational social enterprise may also connect economically disenfranchised individuals with their congregations. One clergy leader talks about the struggle of working within lower-income communities. When the church would help people find employment, their jobs would require these persons to work on days when the church would be offering worship services, Bible studies, or faith formation classes. As a result, the person's new job prohibited the individual's full participation in the life of the congregation and, according to the clergy leader, hindered his or her discipleship. The clergy leader says, "They can't come anymore because their schedules are too crazy right when they were starting to grow and develop, and then they get back into all the stuff that was happening before." When searching for a way to more fully connect with these individuals, the congregation's leadership introduced a social enterprise providing members of the church with the chance to obtain employment that would keep them more fully connected to the congregation.

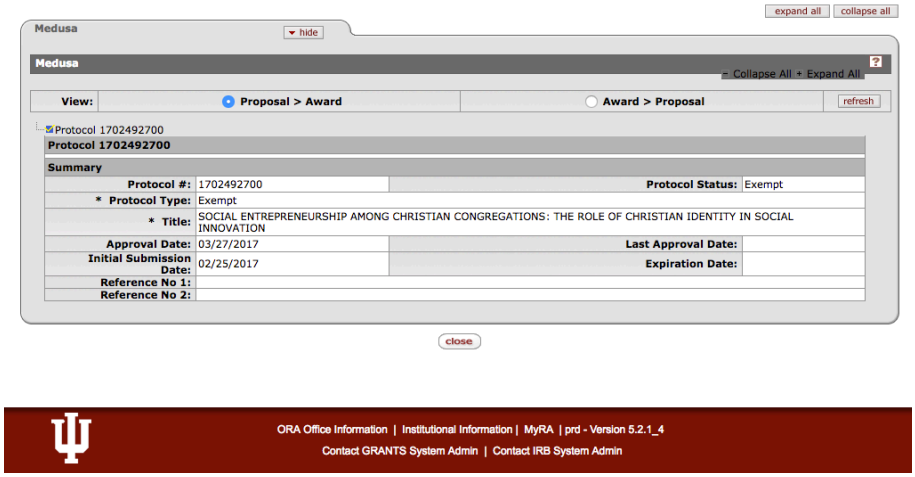
While this study has focused on the lay and clergy leadership of congregations, future study could employ a group level analysis to examine the congregations themselves. In just over a year since I conducted the interviews at least two of the congregations studied in this dissertation have experienced pastoral changes. Future research could produce case studies of what happens to a congregational social enterprise when changes in leadership occur. Further, when clergy leaders go to a new ministry setting, do they attempt to launch a new social enterprise? If so, why and what is the outcome? If not, why are they unable or unwilling to do so? Although the congregational leaders interviewed for this study indicate that the lack of profit functions like a check and balance, what would change if the social enterprise were profitable?

Future research could also extend the sample of this study to include other faith traditions. Scholars may choose to investigate a particular religious tradition, locations for congregational social enterprise, types of congregational social enterprise, and racial differences with congregational social enterprise. I strongly recommend that a quantitative, statistical analysis with generalizable results be conducted of congregational social enterprise. This research could potentially be conducted through a partnership with the National Congregation's Study or the National Study of Congregational Economic Practices. Both of these studies have nationally representative random samples of congregations that could be interviewed. For this purpose, I have included a survey that can be used for this purpose (see Appendix F). The impact of this dissertation may also reach theological higher education, where researchers could develop classes in entrepreneurial pursuits to be offered to seminary students. These findings suggest that new forms of training are needed in institutions preparing lay and clergy leaders for ministry.

APPENDIX A:

INDIANA UNIVERSITY'S INSTITUTIONAL

REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL



expand all collapse all

Medusa hide

Medusa

Collapse All + Expand All

View:	Proposal > Award	Award > Proposal	refresh

Protocol 1702492700

Protocol 1702492700

Summary

Protocol #:	1702492700	**Protocol Status:**	Exempt
*** Protocol Type:**	Exempt		
*** Title:**	SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP AMONG CHRISTIAN CONGREGATIONS: THE ROLE OF CHRISTIAN IDENTITY IN SOCIAL INNOVATION		
Approval Date:	03/27/2017	**Last Approval Date:**	
Initial Submission Date:	02/25/2017	**Expiration Date:**	
Reference No 1:			
Reference No 2:			

close

ORA Office Information | Institutional Information | MyRA | prd - Version 5.2.1_4

Contact GRANTS System Admin | Contact IRB System Admin

APPENDIX B:

INFORMATION SHEET PROVIDED

TO PARTICIPANTS

Indiana University Study Information Sheet

Document Id: 58551451 | Protocol #: 1702492700

SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP AMONG CHRISTIAN CONGREGATIONS: THE ROLE OF CHRISTIAN IDENTITY IN SOCIAL INNOVATION

You are invited to participate in a research project of Christian leaders engaged in entrepreneurial activity at the congregational level. You were selected as a possible subject because you have experience with this topic. We ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be a part of this study.

The study is being conducted by Thad S. Austin, a PhD student at Indiana University's Lilly Family School of Philanthropy.

STUDY PURPOSE
The purpose of this study is to conduct interview research with self-identified Protestant Christian social entrepreneurs who have engaged in social entrepreneurship at the congregational level. The overarching research question is: "How do Christian leaders describe the meanings and experiences of entrepreneurial activity within the congregational setting?"

PROCEDURES FOR THE STUDY
If you agree to participate in this study, you will participate in a confidential, in-depth, audio-recorded interview with the researcher. The interview will last approximately an hour but maybe longer at your discretion. The entire project will be concluded by 2020.

RISK AND BENEFITS
There is minimal risk and or benefit to participating in this study. No questions are asked to intentionally elicit painful experience, and you may decline to answer any question. Although there is risk of loss of privacy, utmost security measures will be taken to protect your identity and confidentiality.

CONFIDENTIALITY
Efforts will be made to keep your personal information confidential. While we cannot guarantee absolute confidentiality. Your personal information will be disclosed if required by law. Your identity will be held in confidence in any publications. The digital

audio recordings of interviews will be available to the research team until transcription takes place. At that point in time, audio recordings will be deleted. Organizations that may inspect and/or copy your research records for quality assurance and data analysis including the research team, the Indiana University Institutional Review Board, and (as allowed by law) state or federal agencies, specifically the Office of Human Research Protections (OHRP), who may need to access research records.

CONTACTS FOR QUESTION OR PROBLEMS
For questions about this project, contact Thad Austin at XXX-XXX-XXXX or Dr. David King at XXX-XXX-XXXX.

VOLUNTARY NATURE OF THE PROJECT
Taking part in this project is voluntary. You may choose not to take part, may refuse to answer any question, and may exit the study at any point in time. Leaving the project will not result in any penalty or loss of benefits to which you are entitled. Additionally, your decision whether or not to participate in this project will not affect your current or future relations with Indiana University.

APPENDIX C:

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Document Id: 58551451

Protocol #: 1702492700

Indiana University Interview Protocol

SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP AMONG CHRISTIAN CONGREGATIONS: THE ROLE OF CHRISTIAN IDENTITY IN SOCIAL INNOVATION

INTERVIEW ORIENTATION

Tell me about the [congregation specific enterprise] that your church began. "Then I'll ask you further questions. I want to hear the story in your own words. If something is not clear I will ask you. But for now feel free to talk freely" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, pp. 27–28).

a. What lead up to the establishment of [congregation specific enterprise]?
b. Where did this idea come from?
c. Who was the first person to champion it in the congregation?
d. Do you recall your church doing anything like this before? If so, tell me about it.
e. How developed was the business plan?
f. *Member Check*

ROLE IN SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP

a. How long have you been involved in this social enterprise?
b. What has been your role in this project?
c. How does this role in this social enterprise relate to your professional identity?

MOTIVATIONS

a. Why did you and your congregation decide to pursue this particular social enterprise?
b. What was the inspiration (e.g. biblical characters, church fathers/mothers, theologians, lay leaders, other organizations) behind this social enterprise?
c. What type of impact did you hope this social enterprise would have?

d. How do you know when [congregation specific social enterprise] is successful?
e. Were other types of social enterprise considered? If so, why were these rejected?

SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN THE CONTEXT OF FAITH

a. Do you see social entrepreneurship as part of your faith?
    a. If so, how is social entrepreneurship part of your faith commitment?
    b. If not, why do you see a distinction between social entrepreneurship and your faith?
b. Do you sense any conflict between faith and social entrepreneurship?
    a. If so, how do you reconcile this contradiction?
    b. If not, how do you see faith and social entrepreneurship as compatible?
c. Has anyone challenged this project?
    a. What rationale did they cite to challenge the project?
    b. How did you respond?
d. What scriptures come to mind when you think about this social enterprise?
    a. How do you react to the story of Jesus and the money changers?
    b. How you react to the account of Paul as a tent-maker?
e. Who have been your role models (e.g. business leaders, biblical characters, church fathers/mothers, theologians, lay leaders) for this social enterprise?

CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

a. What has contributed to the project's success up until this point?
b. When you first became involved in this project, did you sense that there was risk involved?
    a. If so, how did you react to the feeling of risk?
    b. If not, what made you feel secure?
c. How much time would you estimate you devote to this project in a given week?
    a. Has the amount of time you devote to this project changed with time?
d. What gave you the freedom or permission to pursue this social enterprise?
    a. What stood in your way?
e. How do you feel that this social enterprise impacted your congregation?

APPENDIX D:

A HISTORICAL AND EXEGETICAL INTERPRETIVE ANALYSIS OF KEY BIBLICAL PASSAGES

In the following pages, I present a historical and exegetical interpretive analysis of two key biblical passages relevant to this study of congregational social entrepreneurship, namely: a) the Gospel passage regarding Jesus and the money changers, and b) the Apostle Paul as a tentmaker. I pay particular attention to the history of interpretation for these passages with commentary on the early church understanding, the Reformation understanding, and the modern understanding.

A HISTORICAL AND EXEGETICAL INTERPRETIVE ANALYSIS OF JESUS AND THE TEMPLE MONEY CHANGERS

As a result of its political and spiritual significance, Jerusalem experienced robust domestic and international trade, despite the city's lack of natural resources (other than stone).[98] Jewish law required the faithful from around the known world to visit the Holy City three times a year for the major religious festivals of Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles. In addition to its spiritual significance, the Temple in Jerusalem functioned as a commercial center. Jeremias (1969) refers to the Temple as the "focal point for various industries" and "the most important factor in the commerce of [ancient] Jerusalem" (pp. 4, 57). While a place of worship, the Temple also served as a bank, a business, and a commercial regulatory agency. As with other Temples throughout the Greco-Roman world (J. . Davies, 2001, p. 366), the Temple treasury in Jerusalem

[98] For a detailed discussion of the Temple's economic significance and practices, see Schürer (1891, p. 260 ff).

functioned as a bank holding deposits for government entities, businesses, and individuals.[99] The Temple in Jerusalem had its own currency, silver shekels (Tryian Tetradachms) and half shekels (Drachms).[100] Additionally, the Temple had considerable business interest. The single largest employer in the region, the Temple employed thousands of individuals especially during periods of construction, and provided welfare assistance to the unemployed (Jeremias, 1969, p. 26).[101] In addition to operating as the regional center of banking and business,[102] the Temple also functioned as a financial

[99] Hamilton (1964) says, "Temples became the first banks" (p. 366). Josephus (1987b) references the large deposits that individuals had made at the Temple while describing the destruction of the Temple by the Romans. He writes, "And now the Romans, judging that it was in vain to spare what was round about the holy house . . . burnt down the treasury chambers, in which was an immense quantity of money, and an immense number of garments, and other precious goods, there reposited (sic); and to speak all in a few words, there it was that the entire riches of the Jews were heaped up together, while the rich people had there built themselves chambers [to contain such furniture]" (p. 741-742; Book 6: Chapter 5: Para. 2). Evidence for this practice is found both in the Hebrew Bible and Intertestamental writings. See 1 Ki 7:51; 2 Ki 18:15, 16:8; 1 Ch 9:26, 28:11-12; 2 Ch 36:18; Ne 13:12-13, Sir 42:7; Tob 1:14, 9:5. The clearest reference in scripture to this practice may be in 2 Maccabees, which describes the large financial holdings of the Temple unrelated to the sacrificial system. For instance: 2 Maccabees 3:4-6, 10-12, 15: "Simon, of the tribe of Benjamin, who had been made captain of the Temple, had a disagreement with the high priest about the administration of the city market. . . . [He] went to Apollonius of Tarsus . . . and reported to him that the treasury in Jerusalem was full of untold sums of money, so that the amount of the funds could not be reckoned, and that they did not belong to the account of the sacrifices, but that it was possible for them to fall under the control of the king. . . . The high priest explained that there were some deposits belonging to widows and orphans, and also some money of Hyrcanus son of Tobias, a man of very prominent position, and that it totaled in all four hundred talents of silver and two hundred of gold. To such an extent the impious Simon had misrepresented the facts. And he said that it was utterly impossible that wrong should be done to those people who had trusted in the holiness of the place and in the sanctity and inviolability of the Temple that is honored throughout the whole world. . . . The priests prostrated themselves before the altar in their priestly vestments and called toward heaven upon him who had given the law about deposits, that he should keep them safe for those who had deposited them."

[100] This currency had a specified level of purity (Domeris, 2015, p. 3; Reid, 2000, pp. 1045–1046; Walls, 1996, p. 782).

[101] For instance 18,000 workers were employed during the construction by Agrippa II (Jeremias, 1969, p. 13). Beyond workers and artisans in the Temple, the Mishnah Shekalim (5:2) indicates that the Temple treasury was overseen by at least seven trustees and three cashiers. Purchasing agents (גזברים) who also functioned as custodians were also employed (Hamilton, 1964, p. 367). Also, see Reid (2000).

[102] The Mishnah Shekalim (4:3) records that the Temple took surplus funds and invested in products (ex. wine, oil, and flour) to be sold to worshippers. On this point, the Mishnah Shekalim (4:3) records a debate between two rabbis. Rabbi Yishmael asserts that these items were sold to worshipers at a profit, while Rabbi Akiva holds that they were not. See Mishnah Shekalim 4:3: "What was done with the surplus of the appropriation [remaining in the treasury chamber]? They would buy with it wine, oil, and fine flour, and the profit was hekdesh [belonged to the Temple]; these are the words of Rabbi Yishmael.

regulatory agency. The "captain" (προστάτης) of the Temple regulated commerce for the city market (2 Maccabees 3:4-6; See also Hamilton, 1964, p. 367), and the Temple's security force supervised trade (Jeremias, 1969, p. 33).

While not all Jewish households complied, an annual tax of half a shekel—approximately a day's wages—was required by every Jewish male (age twenty and over) in the days leading up to Passover (see Ex 30:13-16).[103] Since there were various currencies across the Roman Empire (Jeremias, 1969, p. 33), money changers (Κολλυβιστής) operated currency exchange booths in the Temple courts.[104] Pilgrims used their exchanged currency for charitable donations, the Temple tax, and other purchased items that were needed to make offering (Gray, 2010, p. 27). Herzog (1992) describes the money changers as the "street-level representatives of the Temple's banking interests" (p. 764). For facilitating these transactions, money changers charged a fee of between 1/12 and 1/24 of a shekel (See Mishnah Shekalim 1:7).[105] In addition to exchanging currency

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Rabbi Akiva says: We do not extract profit from funds of hekdesh or the poor." Even if the Temple did not turn a profit, its representatives were known to do so.

[103] Initially, the tax was one-third of a shekel, according to Nehemiah 10:32–33. However, the price was raised to come in to accordance with the Mosaic command in Exodus (cf. 2 Chron 24:6). Also, priests were exempt (See Schmidt, 1992, p. 806).

[104] Walls (1996) reveals that the Semitic name for the money changer originated from the exchange rate or commission they charged. Hamilton (1964) reveals that the money changers (τραπεζίτης) got their name from the tables at which they sat (τράπεζαι). The same etymological construction is true in English. Banker derives from *banque or banca* (bench or table).

[105] This transaction fee was only charged to Levites, Israelites, converts, and freed slaves. Priests, women, slaves, and children were exempt from the surcharge (See Mishnah Shekalim 1:7). Mishnah Shekalim (1:7) provides evidence of the money changers. "The following people have to pay a surcharge when buying the half-shekel coin: Levites, Israelites, converts and freed slaves. However, priests, women, slaves and children do not have to pay the surcharge. One who pays the half-shekel on behalf of a priest, a woman, a slave or child is exempt [from paying the surcharge]. If he pays the half-shekel on his own behalf and on behalf of his fellow, he must only pay the surcharge once. Rabbi Meir said: He must pay it twice. One who gives a sela [which is worth two shekels] and receives one shekel in return must pay the surcharge twice."

for religious purposes, the money changers also traded valuable coins and mortgaged property (see Mishnah Shekalim 1:3).

Although Zechariah (14:21) refers to trade taking place in the Temple, the primary Temple market for sacrificial animals was located outside of the Temple on the Mount of Olives (Chilton, 1996, p. 24). In a political move to limit the power of the Sanhedrin and consolidate his own power thereby increase his own financial interest, High Priest Caiaphas allowed merchants to sell doves and other items for offerings in the Temple beginning in the year 30 CE (Eppstein, 1964, p. 55).[106] The merchants and money changers occupied the south side of the Temple's outer courts known as the "royal portico," displacing teachers and religious leaders—such as the Sanhedrin—that had historically taught in this area (Chilton, Comfort, & Wise, 2000, p. 1175; Riesner, 1992, p. 41).[107] Evidence of the degree of trade taking place in the Temple—especially at the time of Passover—may be seen by the actions of Rabbi Baba ben Buta who brought 3,000 small livestock to the Temple area to be sold as offerings (See Jeremias, 1969, p. 49). Merchants would sometimes fix prices at exorbitant amounts. Although doves were the sacrifice of the poor (Gray, 2010, p. 27), the Mishnah Keritot (1:7) records an instance in which dishonest merchants charged a poor woman almost 10,000 percent above the expected rate for a pair of sacrificial doves. Jesus' actions in driving out the merchants and money changers interrupted the flow of business, bringing it to a standstill during Passover—the busiest and most lucrative season of the year (Gray, 2010, pp. 29–

[106] Josephus (1987a) describes the High Priest Ananias as a "a great hoarder up of money" (p. 583; Book 20; Chapter 9: Para. 2).

[107] Chilton, Comfort, and Wise (2000) write, "The exterior court was well suited for trade, since it was surrounded by porticos on the inside, following Herod's architectural preferences" (p. 1175).

30; Walls, 1996, p. 782). Mark's emphasis on this point cannot be overlooked. The verb Mark uses for "to drive out" (ἐκβάλλειν) is typically used for demonic exorcisms (Herzog, 1992, p. 764).

THE EARLY CHURCH INTERPRETATION

Generally, the leaders of the early church discussed four major themes associated with the Gospel passage: the passage as a miraculous event, the nature of business, the relevance of the Jewish sacrificial system, and the historicity of the Gospel passages. I will unpack each of these in turn.

Interestingly, both St. Jerome and St. Origen see Jesus' action in the Temple as nothing less than miraculous. It is impressive because Jesus is able to single handedly clear the Temple courts. St. Origen (1897) conceptualizes this event as more extraordinary than Jesus' first miracle at the wedding in Cana of Galilee (pp. 9393–9395), and St. Jerome (1965) goes so far to say that the significance of Jesus' action in the Temple are on par with raising the dead. St. Jerome comes to this conclusion because Jesus' act demonstrates his power and divinity (p. 180).

Many early church fathers—including St. Bede, St. Jerome, St. Origen of Alexandria, and Cyril of Alexandria—focus their interpretation of the Gospel passage on the nature of business. Perhaps one of the most developed commentaries on the nature of business in the Gospel passage from an early church father comes from St. Jerome. St. Jerome (2008) highlights the way that Jesus expels those who seek "financial gain from religion," a practice which St. Jerome refers to as "thievery" (pp. 236-237).[108] The theological problem that St. Jerome notes is the monetary valuation of religious practice

[108] St. Jerome (1965) says, "Where there are thieves, there is a house of trafficking" (p. 183).

and the greed of those who participate in these religious business activities.[109] As Jerome (1965) explains, "The grace of God is not sold, but given" (p. 181). Those who engage in commercial activity within the Temple engage the most base of morals (Jerome, 1965, p. 182). In contrast with the self-giving and sacrificial example of Jesus, St. Jerome (1965) calls the tables of the money changers "greed-altars of the priests" (pp. 181, 183-184).[110] Referencing the Prophet Jeremiah, St. Jerome (1965) compares the actions of those motivated solely by profit to those of a hyena with a "ravenous appetite" craving "the bodies of the dead . . . [and] maul[ing] them to pieces" (p. 182). Forcefully, St. Jerome (2008) says:

> May there not be business in the house of our heart. May there not be the commerce of selling and buying. May there not be desire for donations, lest an angry and stern Jesus enter and cleanse his own temple . . . with a whip that he administers in order to make a house of prayer out of den of thieves and a house of business (p. 237).

Interestingly, both St. Jerome (1965, p. 182) and St. Origen (1989) complain of the rampant and perpetual business activity within their own churches. St. Origen (1989) writes:

> In what we call the church, . . . are there not some money-changers sitting, needing stripes from the whip of Jesus . . ., and money-changers needing their coins poured out and their tables overturned? . . . There are always many, too, . . [who for] the sake of miserable gain . . . abandon the care of those who are figuratively called doves [i.e. the poor]. . . . [He] drives them out . . . that they might no longer trade in the temple of God" (p. 286-287).

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[109] St. Bede notes that Jesus drove out everything that had to do with business (see Oden & Hall, 1998, p. 161).

[110] In place of the sacred showbread, St. Jerome (1965) says there were the "sacrifices of greed" (p. 181). Similarly, Cyril of Alexandria (2013) indicates that the temple courts were disgraced by the presence of the merchants and money changers. Cyril says that their "business was greed, interest, and lust for money" (p. 92). Regretfully. instead of preventing their presence, the religious leaders actively encouraged and participated in the practice of the money changers.

St. Jerome (2008) and St. Origen (1989) both discuss the Gospel passage by referring to the nature of the Jewish sacrificial system. Although Jerome (2008) notes the necessity of the Jewish sacrificial system (p. 236), St. Origen (1897) interprets the Gospel passage as having to do with Jesus putting an end to the Jewish sacrificial system (pp. 9393–9395). Origen (1989) holds that Jesus' actions declare the Jewish sacrificial system obsolete (p. 287). Origen (1989) writes, "The presence of these merchants is even more cause to propose that this pasch [i.e. Passover] is not of the Lord, but of the Jews. For as the Father's house had become a house of merchandise with those who did not sanctify it" (p. 280).

Additionally, some early church fathers discuss the historical nature of the Gospel passage. Like St. Augustine (see Oden & Hall, 1998, p. 160), St. John Chrysostom believed that there were two occurrences of Jesus cleansing the Temple—one at the beginning of his ministry (John 2) and one at the end of his ministry (Matthew 21, Mark 11, and Luke 19; see Simonetti, 2002, p. 128). If the event did occur twice, the continuation of objectionable behavior incenses Jesus. For this reason, these church fathers feel that the lack of Jewish reformation amplifies Jesus' anger. Therefore, Jesus' final incitement is even stronger than the first, and according to St. Chrysostom, those who practice the trade are without excuse for they were rebuked a second time (see Simonetti, 2002, p. 128).

THE REFORMATION INTERPRETATION

While many historical Protestant leaders discuss the Gospel passage,[111] I will focus on the interpretation of Jesus and the money changers by major Protestant historical figures: Martin Luther, John Calvin, and John Wesley. Although I prompted my interviewees with Mark's account of Jesus and the money changers, I have expanded my analysis of the interpretation by these historic Protestant leaders to include any reference to Jesus' cleansing the Temple across all four Gospels. My rationale for this decision is partly theoretical and partly practical. From a theoretical standpoint, many—if not all—of the congregational leaders I interviewed have been exposed to the accounts from all four Gospels and, as a result, are generally aware of their contents. On rare occasions, some respondents even made specific references to these other Gospel accounts. From a practical standpoint, however, Luther, Calvin, and Wesley at times provide greater

[111] For instance, Protestant reformer Phillipp Melanchthon (1570) holds that there were likely other corruptions taking place in the Temple that Jesus does not address in the Gospel passages. Jesus does address this corruption, however, because these instances of corruption are of particular concern to God. Melanchthon argues that God does not intend for the sanctuary of God to "serve for the maintenance of human covetousness" (469; qtd. in Kreitzer et al., 2015, p. 385). Similarly, Protestant reformer Wolfgang Musculus (1545) also comments on the passage saying: "We see by this deed of Christ how much they displease him, and how much they are not to be tolerated in the church, those who practice commerce under the cover of divine worship. No doubt there were in the city many crimes that were sins in a general way against God. And yet we do not read that Christ censured those crimes with a severity like we see here. Rather we read that he went straight to the Temple and drove out this disease of filthy profit taking. . . . [Jesus] drives the traders out of the Temple even though they still had greed in their hearts. . . . No doubt he gave an example that public wickedness in the church is not to be endured even if it cannot be removed from hearts" (p. 63; qtd. in Farmer et al., 2014, pp. 79–80). Protestant reformer Desiderius Erasmus (1961c) compares the corrupt practices of the money changers to that of usury noting the way that the Priests and Levites not only enabled these practices but also profited from them. He says, "When [Jesus] went into the Temple, dedicated as it was to religion and divine worship, he was confronted with the sight of a market, not a Temple. For he found very many there who were engaged in disgraceful and even dishonest profiteering in the holy place and who were turning an occasion of religion to robbery" (p. 517; qtd in Farmer et al., 2014, p. 78). Protestant reformer Johannes Oecolampadius (1533) says, "The house of the Father ought to be a house of prayer; it should not be made into a house of business where people attend to their greedy purse and hope to get rich. Spiritual riches ought to be sought there. . . . Those who want to belong to God's people so that God might dwell among them, let them remove the things which are coarse, that is, those things that serve greed, and let them bring everything into service" (p. 48v-49r; qtd in Farmer et al., 2014, p. 81).

commentary to the Matthean, Lukan, and Johannine accounts when compared to the Markan passage.

Luther (1525) believed that houses of worship are to be centers for worship, religious education, preaching, and teaching. The agony that Jesus experiences as he weeps over Jerusalem is, according to Luther, directly connected to the corrupt commercial activity of the Temple. Luther notices that Jesus rebukes not only those that are selling in the Temple but also those who are buying. They too were driven out of the Temple courts. Using Luther's words, the activity of the Temple merchants and money changers "pandered to base appetites" and desecrated the Temple to the point that people viewed a sacred space as nothing more than a "market house" (n.p.).[112] Luther insists that the Temple is to be a place of prayer and worship. However, through its corrupt commercial enterprises, the Temple becomes "perverted and desolate" (n.p.). For Luther, suppressing the worship of God is the "chief sin and principal cause" why the people of God deserved "destruction and ruin" (n.p.).

The Gospel account is particularly relevant for Luther's own *sitz im leben*, or situation in life. One of Luther's chief criticisms of the Catholic church is with the sale of indulgences. These criticisms were so severe that they eventually led to his excommunication and the birth of the Protestant church. Luther (1957) states that the zeal Jesus exhibits in the passage is consistent with that of a true reformer.[113] Reformers may exhibit righteous anger and zeal (p. 306). Speaking out of his own context, Luther excoriates the Catholic priests and monks of his time. Luther (1973) says that the first

[112] Luther (1525) refers to the expression "den of robbers" as a "scandalous name."

[113] Similarly, Calvin (1847b) writes, "What he did at that time was, therefore, a sort of preface to that reformation which the Father had sent him to accomplish" (n.p.).

characteristic of a false teacher is greed (p. 237).[114] Referring to the Pope as "the great rat king at Rome with his Judas purse," Luther says:

> [The merchants] did just as our priests and monks do now, who have also made dens of robbers of our churches and cloisters, and have preached poison, and held masses only that the people might give them money. . . . They made the church a market house . . . and destroyed the sheep of God's pastures by their scandalous false doctrine, that it may well be called a robber's den for the soul. This title we should write on all churches in which the Gospel is not preached, for there they mock God, destroy souls, banish the pure Word and establish dens of murder. . . (Luther, 1525, n.p.)![115]

In particular, Luther criticizes church officials, whom he calls "bloated misers," for they compel the faithful to make purchases which in turn financially benefit these same church officials (n.p.). Luther refers to this practice as the "Popery's abominable merchandise of perfidy" (n.p.).[116] For this reason, Luther (1966) compares the Catholic Church to a den of robbers (p. 188) and says that the Church's corruption re-crucifies Christ (Luther, 1963, p. 201).

Like Luther, Calvin (1847b) believes that the Temple should be "applied exclusively to spiritual purposes" (n.p.).[117] Through the corruption of the merchants and

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[114] Luther (1973) writes, "For with a show of holy living and teaching they deceive the people, so that these may bring them gifts in great abundance. For that is thievery, when one furtively takes a man's possessions from him. Yes, they are thieves in a twofold way: first, because they steal from the people through hypocrisy and deceit; second, because they steal from the mouths of the true preachers. For true preachers ought to have what these men steal, but they always come short" (p. 237).

[115] Luther (1971) says that Jesus refers to the Temple as a den of robbers "because so many souls had been murdered through [the] greedy, false doctrine . . ." (p. 227). Similarly, Protestant reformer Caspar Cruciger (1546) writes, "Now just as Christ, with his spirit burning hot, drove out the merchants, so should godly teachers expel the wicked from the church by excommunication, those who confer the sacraments for monetary gain or who multiply ceremonies for profit. This is how the Lord's Supper has been corrupted, and we could recall an infinite number of examples of this sort of thing" (pp. 126-127).

[116] Speaking directly of the corruption in the Catholic church, Luther (1957) writes, "All this is clearer than day to all, and the Roman church, once the holiest of all, has become the most licentious den of thieves, the most shameless of all brothels, the kingdom of all sin, death, and hell. It is so bad that even Antichrist himself, if he should come, could think of nothing to add to its wickedness" (p. 336).

[117] Calvin (1847b) writes, "We ought always, therefore, to keep before our eyes the majesty of God, which dwells in the Church, that it may not be defiled by any pollutions; and the only way in which

money changers, the worship of the supreme God of the universe devolves into a place of very earthy practice and human motives. Driven by the greed of the religious leaders, the Temple's sacrificial practices were corrupted and abused often at the expense of the poor. Calvin (1845) says that the "contagion" of commercial activity has polluted the Temple, resulting in "disgraceful and ungodly confusion" (n.p.). Because the people do not recognize the corruption, Calvin (1845) calls the religious leaders and worshippers "worse than stupid" (n.p.). At issue for Calvin is the spiritual worship of God.[118] Nothing should interfere with or distract from its practice. Emphasizing this point, Calvin (1845) insists that "nothing was more at variance with the majesty of the Temple than that a market should be erected there for selling goods or that bankers should sit there for matters connected with exchange. . ." (n.p.).

Noting the frequency with which Jesus undoubtedly entered the Temple courts, Calvin (1845) argues that Jesus was well aware of the Temple's corrupt practices. Accordingly, Calvin (1847b) questions why Jesus does not first preach about the corrupt practices taking place. Instead, without addressing issues of morality or doctrine, Jesus takes swift and fierce action. Calvin conjectures that Jesus takes action because Jesus is not primarily concerned (at this point) with trying to remedy the corrupt practices of the merchants and money changers. Instead, Jesus' actions are proving his divine authority. Specifically, Calvin (2009) indicates that Jesus' cleansing of the Temple relates to Jesus' role as doorkeeper to God (p. 600). Jesus' secondary motive in cleansing the Temple is to

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its holiness can remain unimpaired is, that nothing shall be admitted into it that is at variance with the word of God" (n.p.)

[118] Calvin (1847b) writes, "Why, then, does he drive the buyers and sellers out of the Temple? It is that he may bring back to its original purity the worship of God, which had been corrupted by the wickedness of men, and in this way may restore and maintain the holiness of the Temple" (n.p.).

purify it, making the people of God more attentive to abuses within sacred spaces. In order to redeem this group and to preach on the topic, Calvin asserts that Jesus must first "[take] possession of the Temple" (n.p.).

Interestingly, Calvin (1847b) conjectures on how the merchants, money changers, and religious leaders justified their actions. First, he contends that these actions were facilitating a spiritual act, writing:

> For they might allege that the merchandise transacted there was not irreligious, but, on the contrary, related to the sacred worship of God, that every person might obtain, without difficulty, what he might offer to the Lord (n.p.).

Second, Calvin believes that the worshipers, merchants, money changers, and religious leaders rationalized their actions based upon practical convenience. With many pilgrims traveling far distances, the Temple market place made their journey easier. Calvin goes on to note that the practice of buying and selling, in and of itself, was not immoral. The cause of Jesus' displeasure was the Levitical abuse of worshipers for unjust, private gain. This perverse practice corrupts the worship of God. Calvin compares and contrasts the first century Temple and congregations of the Reformation era. Although the worship of God can now occur in any setting, the general principles of this Gospel account about keeping the worship of God sacred are still relevant.

Wesley (1754) understands the Johannine account (placed at the introduction of Jesus' public ministry) and the synoptic accounts (i.e. Matthew, Mark, Luke, occurring at the end of Jesus' public ministry) as two separate events.[119] Accordingly, Wesley sees the later synoptic account intensifying and underscoring Jesus' prior actions. Wesley (1754)

[119] See Wesley's (1754) commentary on John 2.

notes the relative holiness that Jesus required not only of sacred times but also of sacred places. He contends that these times and locations are "peculiarly dedicated to God" (n.p., Mark 11). Wesley (1987) builds on this thought in his Sermon 139 entitled "On the Sabbath." Here, he notes the importance not only of keeping time set apart for God but also for keeping physical space set a part for God. In particular, Wesley describes the importance of preserving the sanctity of the sanctuary. While noting that preserving the holiness of a space should never keep the people of God from performing acts of mercy, Wesley advocates for sacred spaces in which people worship to be kept holy. He writes,

> We may not do common works therein, much less use common diversions. The former actions are not at all contrary to its holiness; the latter unhallow, pollute, and profane it. And when either the Temple or the sabbath of God is made a day or a house of merchandise, it will not be long before truth itself will pronounce the one an abomination and the other a den of thieves (p. 276).

Like Calvin, Wesley (1754) notes that convenience played a part in the Temple practices (John 2); however, in contrast to Calvin, Wesley seems to be more matter of fact. Instead of noting convenience as a way to justify corrupt practices (per Calvin), Wesley states that the long distances traveled by pilgrims required some type of transaction to take place.

THE MODERN INTERPRETATION

The significance of the Gospel account is not missed by modern commentators. Evans (2000) describes the provocative and dramatic events as "one of the most remarkable actions of Jesus in the Gospel tradition" (p. 165).[120] Although Fitzmyer (2000) describes the account as the climax of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem (p. 1265), he

[120] Keck (1994) describes this event as one that has been "hotly debated" (p. 661).

challenges the historicity of the event noting the leaps that one would have to take to conceive of how an individual could have singlehandedly disrupted the business activities of the entire Temple complex (p. 1264).[121] Similarly, Evans (2000) questions whether the merchants would have even allowed Jesus' behavior (p. 166). For this reason, he refers to the event as almost "unimaginable" (p. 166). Nevertheless, most modern scholars accept that the Gospel account reflects an actual historical event, although it may have been more limited in scope than described in the Gospels (See C. A. Evans, 2000, pp. 166, 181). Unlike St. Augustine and St. Chrysostom, Barrett (1978, p. 195), Fitzmyer (2000, p. 1264), and Keck (1995, p. 543) hold that it is highly unlikely that Jesus drove out the merchants and money changers both at the beginning and also at the end of his ministry. More likely, one event took place that is described in different portions of the Gospel accounts for the rhetorical purposes of each writer.

Modern interpreters also note the symbolic function and meaning of these passages in the Gospel accounts (C. A. Evans, 2000, p. 181; Keck, 1994, p. 405).[122] Davies and Allison (1997, p. 134) and Fitzmyer (2000, p. 1260) emphasize the nature of Jesus' role as prophet, entering the Temple and protesting against the religious establishment.[123] Evans (2000) says that we may not be able to discern the source of Jesus' outrage but suggests that his anger could be attributed to the mere fact of business being conducted in the temple, the way that business was being conducted in the Temple,

[121] Additionally, Fitzmyer (2000) questions why the individual would not have been stopped by the Temple police.

[122] For instance, Davies and Allison (1997) note that the Temple is a "symbol of Jewish national identity."

[123] Keck (1994) argues that the specific references that Jesus gives in the passage are to the prophets (Jeremiah, for instance). Therefore, he argues that the "king imagery" is unwarranted.

or the way that the business was impacting the sacrificial system (pp. 181-182). Across all interpretations, modern commentators maintain that the Temple was to be reserved for sacred acts. However, Keck (1994) says that it is improper to call Jesus' act "the cleansing of the Temple" because, no action had been taken to ritually defile the Temple (pp. 405, 661).[124] The event that celebrates the cleansing of the Temple is Hanukkah (p. 663).

Generally, modern commentators focus on the nature of the Jewish sacrificial system and the corruption of the religious establishment. Surprisingly, most—but not all—modern commenters do not specifically reference the business activity as the primary cause for Jesus' concern in the Gospels. Fitzmyer (2000) is an outlier, referring to the Gospels event as Messianic purification because of the business activity (pp. 1265, 1266). He says, "The mercantile trafficking of the sellers in the Temple becomes in Jesus' sight a desecration tantamount to idolatry and lawlessness of old" (p. 1266). Fitzmyer (2000) believes that the Temple merchants and money changers are a living example of those who are trying to serve both God and money (see Luke 16:13d; p. 1266). Instead, most modern scholars argue that the business practices were relatively benign. Barrett (1978) calls the actions of the Temple merchants "usual commercial activity" and "relatively innocent trading" (pp. 194, 196-197). Keck (1994) holds that the business practices were both "valuable" and "grounded in biblical precepts" (p. 405; See also 1995, p. 543). The reason for this conclusion is that these modern interpreters do not

[124] Keck (1994) notes that there is no evidence of specific abuse described in the Matthean account (p. 405).

believe that Jesus' actions are intended to be interpreted as an attack of the Jewish sacrificial system or the Jewish people. Evans (2000) writes:

> [Jesus'] complaint was not directed against the purchase of animals as such and certainly was not directed against the practice of sacrifice; nor was it directed against money-changing. All of these things were necessary for Israel's religion to be practiced, as commanded in the law of Moses (pp. 181-182).

As a result of its connection to the Jewish sacrificial system, most modern commentators do condemn the business activities that were taking place in the Temple. Keck (1995) writes, "Christian interpretations that see this story principally as an illustration of the extortionist practices of the Jewish temple authorities disregard these realities of temple worship in Jesus' day" (p. 543). Davies and Allison (1997) call the merchants necessary (p. 134), and likewise, Keck (1994) holds that the issue is not against the sacrificial system.[125]

Modern commentators also tend to focus their interpretation on the corruption present within the Jewish religious system in one of two areas—either the corruption of leadership or the corruption of the worshipping community. Many scholars hold that Jesus' anger is directed at the corrupt religious leadership of the Temple. Barrett (1978) holds that Jesus is demonstrating his divinity by rebelling against the authorities of Israel. Essentially the act is questioning who has authority over the Temple (p. 195). Davies and Allison (1997) say, "the disfavor is not directed against the temple as such but against those who have corrupted the institution, who have prevented the temple from being what God intended it to be, a house of prayer" (p. 134). Similarly, Keck (1994) says, "There

[125] Interestingly, Keck (1995) notes that Luke mentions the Temple merchants but omits the references to buying and selling in the passage.

were inevitable abuses of the temple system, but in [John 2:14-16] Jesus confronts the system itself, not simply its abuses" (p. 543). In particular, Jesus is protesting Levitical abuses consistent with those in the Hebrew Bible (see Jer 7:11, Zech 14:21, Mal 3:1). Because the money changers and merchants were priests and Levites (or at least supported by them; W. D. Davies & Allison, 1997, p. 138), Jesus directs his anger at the way that these leaders have corrupted the worship of God. For this reason, Davies and Allison (1997) conjecture that Jesus does not drive out worshippers but the temple staff who could have been buying supplies (p. 138). The term Mark uses for "thieve" (λῃστής) typically applies to violent thief, revolutionary,[126] or greedy leader (Friberg, Friberg, & Miller, 2000, p. 264).

Keck (1994) holds that the phrase "den of thieves" does not refer to dishonest business practices but is—in the context of its use in Jeremiah (7:1-11)—a theological diatribe against worshippers who come to the Temple under the false assumption that that they will always be protected by God regardless of their actions. Instead, Keck (1994) holds that the actions of Jesus should be understood as evidence of God's judgement on the Temple, the expulsion of those who are "insiders" (while welcoming those who had been previously excluded), and Jesus' authority over the Temple cult (pp. 406, 663; see also Keck, 1995, p. 374). Keck (1994) notes that the event takes place in the Court of the Gentiles. Keck (1995) holds that Jesus' challenge to the temple practices is a matter of challenging a religious system that had become resistant to innovation and change.[127] He

[126] According to Keck (1994), Josephus uses the term for the zealots who sought to overturn political powers by force (p. 663).

[127] Keck (1994) notes the political interpretations that have been attributed to this passage justifying war and revolt against unjust or corrupt powers (p. 664). He feels that both go too far.

writes, “Christian faith communities must be willing to ask where and when the status quo of religious practices and institutions has been absolutized and, therefore, close to the possibility of reformation, change, and renewal” (p. 545).

A HISTORICAL AND EXEGETICAL INTERPRETIVE ANALYSIS OF PAUL THE TENTMAKER

Again, although my respondents did not have access to additional resources in their reflection outside of the passage I read, I will provide additional commentary on the passage for the benefit of the reader. In her recent dissertation on merchants in the late Roman empire, Sancinito (2018) writes, “With an author as comprehensively studied as Paul, it is unusual to find an aspect of his life that has been so thoroughly marginalized as his profession.” Hock has been the only scholar to study Paul’s tentmaking in a sustained way. Hock (1974) first termed Paul “The Working Apostle” later writing, “More than any of us has supposed, Paul was *Paul the Tentmaker*. His trade occupied much of his time.… His life was very much that of the workshop … of being bent over a workbench. . . .” (Hock, 2007, p. 67).

Although work was associated with the lives of slaves and leisure was associated with the lives of citizens in Greco-Roman society (Barnett, 1993, p. 927), the biblical text provides ample references to Paul’s working to support himself (Acts 18:3; 20:34–35; Rom. 16:3-4; 1 Cor 4:12; 9:1–18; 2 Cor 6:5; 11:23, 27; 1 Thess 2:9; 2 Thess 3:8). The only passage, however, that references the type of work that Paul performed—tentmaking (σκηνοποιός)—comes from the Book of Acts. With easily portable tools (such as leather or cloth and a knife, awl, needles, and waxed thread ; Murphy-O’Connor, 1998; Barnett,

1993, p. 926) and a trade that provided contact with people across all social strata, itinerant tentmakers worked for both governments and private clients.

Tentmaking was in demand throughout the empire at all times of year. In addition to providing housing for sailors coming ashore, tents were often used for major gatherings such as imperial and local games, celebrations, and festivals. Tentmakers were employed in the construction and repair of ship sails, clothing, and awnings for overhead covering at theatres and public fora, and for wagons (Murphy-O'Connor, 1998, pp. 87–88; Michaelis, 1973, p. 368). No scholarly consensus exists as to whether Paul learned his trade alongside his theological training. Murphy-O'Connor (1998) doubts that he did, while Hock (1979) and Barnett (1993)—citing the practice within contemporary Rabbinical schools—affirm the possibility.

Sancinito (2018) views Paul's trade as a tool of ministry and refers to Paul's reputation as a "tradesman" (pp. 254-255). Like Murphy-O'Connor (1998) who holds that Paul likely preached while working (p. 87), Hock (1979) asserts that Paul's workshop may have been used as the social setting for much of his ministry and refers to his craft as the very "conditions under which the gospel was preached" (p. 164). As he says, "Paul's letters and Acts provide good evidence for placing the apostle in workshops wherever and whenever he was doing missionary preaching and teaching" (p. 440). Hock (1974, 2007), who draws a clear connection between Paul's missionary role as an apostle and his role as a tentmaker says, "Paul saw his work as part of his missionary task" (p. 163).

Contextual evidence may support Hock's claim. There is no doubt that Paul preached and taught in many settings, synagogues, private homes, the agora (marketplace), and even prison. Additionally, Hock (1979) argues that philosophers used

workshops as a place for teaching, discussion, and debate (pp. 444-445). Possibly the clearest example outside of the connection with Aquilla and Pricilla is Paul's statement in 1 Thessalonians 2:9: "Working night and day in order not to be a burden on any of you, we preached to you the gospel of God." Heck sees a direct connection between the concept of work and preaching here. Citing this scripture and importance of both work and preaching for Paul, Barnett (1993) says, "This probably means that Paul talked to people while he worked and also, almost certainly, that on some days, or during part of the day, he laid aside his apron and tools and taught the gospel" (p. 926). So, was Paul a preacher who was a business man on the side, or was Paul a businessman who preached on the side?[128] The answer is that Paul was both.

THE EARLY CHURCH INTERPRETATION

The early church was most concerned with Paul as a tentmaker from the way that it related to their understanding manual labor, which had generally carried a negative connation and had implications for both religious orders and non-monastic Christians (F. Martin, 2006, p. 223). St. Augustine (1887) references Paul's tentmaking as an example of hard work to be emulated by those within religious communities. St. Augustine is clear that the pursuit of worldly gain—what Augustine refers to as "acquisition" (1888, p. 653)—should never be should never be the primary motive of a Christian; however, God does not criticize those who work to maintain a livelihood (Augustine, 1887, pp. 3515–3516). While there is certainly provision for those who are unable to work because of

[128] This thought is derived from a conversation with Dr. Phillip Jamison (2018), who relayed this idea based on an article he read years ago. Unfortunately, Dr. Jamison was unable to remember the author or title of the article. A subsequent academic search has revealed similar concepts but not this exact phrasing.

infirmity or disability, St. Augustine (1887) says that it "goes against the Gospel" to not labor and that those who do not labor should be mourned (p. 3515–3516). Those that do not work are motivated by a carnal mind. Interestingly, Augustine questions, if Paul's work was so valuable to his ministry, why did Jesus' apostles not continue their professional work as part of their ministry. Augustine notes that the Apostles did work on behalf of the poor and that the missional context of Paul's ministry was with a different group of people, namely the Gentiles. Therefore, without disparaging the discontinuation of the Apostle's secular profession, Paul distinguishes his own ministry by working so that he "might not be burdensome" (Augustine, 1888, p. 653).

There is something inherently spiritual about the nature of work. Noting that many of Jesus' disciples had professions, St. Origen says that through their work Christians reflect the activity of God, who also works. The Christian vocation is to "imitate" the work of God (F. Martin, 2006, p. 224). In the same fashion that the disciples work changed from fishing for fish to fishing for people, St. Origen says that Paul went from "making earthly tents to building heavenly tents" through his teaching and building churches (F. Martin, 2006, pp. 224–225).

St. Chrysostom sees the value in work, encouraging those with a trade to not be ashamed (F. Martin, 2006, p. 223). St. Chrysostom feels that those who are idle and lazy, however, have reason to be ashamed. In particular, St. Chrysostom discourages the wealthy members of his congregation from laziness and points them to the example of Paul who worked with his hands. He says, "[Paul] worked while preaching. Let us be ashamed, we who live idle lives even through we are not occupied with preaching" (p. 224). There is a categorical difference in the degree of mental purity and physical vigor

among those who are productive. In his "Instructions to Catechumens," St. Chrysostom (1889) says to new converts that the workplace has the potential to be like a "monastery" (p. 9168–9169). In this way, St. Chrysostom sees work as a blessing (F. Martin, 2006, pp. 223–224).

THE REFORMATION INTERPRETATION

As with the Gospel passages, I will focus on the interpretation of Paul as a tentmaker by major Protestant historical figures: Martin Luther, John Calvin, and John Wesley. Admittedly, other reformers also comment on this passage.[129] Luther does not specifically comment on Paul's tentmaking but does offer commentary to the passage more broadly. In particular, Luther notes the virtue of generosity and charitable behavior. Like Jesus, Christians should embody acts of giving. Luther (1956) writes, "The Gospel teaches giving, but the devil teaches taking" (p. 410). Charitable activity is especially important for congregational leaders, although there can be a strong temptation towards self-serving behavior, what Luther (1967) calls "an exceedingly harmful vice" (p. 136). Luther observes that selfishness desensitizes congregational leaders from the needs of

[129] Protestant reformer Desiderius Erasmus (1961a) writes, "As Peter was not ashamed to return to fishing when the need required, so Paul . . . was not ashamed to return to the skins he had left behind for the sake of the gospel. Nevertheless he did not in the meantime cease from his evangelistic ministry" (p. 738; qtd. in Kreitzer et al., 2015, p. 253). Desiderius Erasmus (1961b) also notes that it is a common reaction to have less respect for an individual with whom we have shared charity (pp. 748-49; qtd. in Kreitzer et al., 2015, p. 286). Protestant reformer Stephen Denison (1621)notes that clergy leaders should preach and remain productive without seeking after what they can gain. Denison says that God holds in contempt those who seek their own personal gain through their ministry. He refers to them as "dumb dogs." Continuing, Denison says, "[T]his serves to condemn the gross negligence of all idle ministers who look for the fleece but starve the flock, who have talents but have not a heart to use them for the good of the people committed to their charge" (p. 65; qtd. in Chung-Kim et al., 2014, pp. 287–288). The Bohemian Confession of 1535 encourages productivity among the clergy saying: "[T]hose who are able . . . should provide food for themselves with [the labor of] their own hands, lest they become a burden and become lazy and unfaithful, for sloth too is a fault, and thus they may become a burden to the church" (Crews, n.d., p. 20; Article 9, Ecclesiastical Order).

their congregation,[130] and he warns that Christian leaders "bent to such an extent on profit" and "so greedy for gain" will become corrupt, like a wolf in the church (p. 136). For his own time, Luther argues that the Bishops of the Catholic Church are examples of such corruption.

By contrast, Calvin (1847a) does briefly discuss Paul's specific vocation. Calvin notes that Paul worked not so much for the pleasure of work but for a specific purpose. During the first century, false teachers offered their services without charge. Calvin says that, by practicing his trade, Paul avoided criticism from these false teachers, who could otherwise impute impure motives to Paul's ministry, by living off of the charity of others (n.p.; Acts 18). Like Luther, Calvin refers to seeking gain for personal ambition as a "hurtful plague" (n.p.; Acts 20). Calvin notes how easy it is to corrupt God's word in order to seek followers for financial gain. He refers to these individuals as "filthy" and points to Paul's admonition in 1 Timothy 3:3 that a church leader is to be "no lover of money." For this reason, Calvin says that Paul, by the example of his work, intentionally demonstrates that he is "clean from all wicked desire," has no avarice for the financial resources of others, and "spares" his churches of the requirement to support him (n.p.; Acts 20). Calvin holds that Paul essentially commands clergy leaders to be productive, following the example of Paul so that they are not a burden on their congregation. Additionally, living solely on the charity of others can create a form of bondage that comes with indebtedness.

[130] Luther (1967) writes, "[T]hose who preside over the people for shameful gain and to feed their bellies . . . look for the wool and the milk from sheep and care nothing about the pasturage" (p. 136).

Like Calvin, Wesley (1754) also comments on Paul's trade. Wesley describes Paul's calloused hands as a demonstrable example of the Christian work ethic and indicates that people of faith—especially, Christian leaders—should be envious of such productivity. Wesley indicates that first century Jewish households raised their children to be industrious. Decrying the many Christian households who do not raise their children to be productive, Wesley refers to those who are gainfully employed as "rich" and "noble" (n.p., Acts 18). Beyond just the physical benefits of activity, Wesley notes the importance of industry, as it can provide resources that can be used to assist those who are restricted from being productive themselves. These persons include the disabled, sick, and infirm. The act of assisting these individuals through one's productivity serves as an imitation of God's actions towards humanity (n.p., Acts 20). In his sermon entitled "The Good Steward," Wesley (1985) describes the importance of being a good steward with what one has, especially one's monetary possessions. He underscores the importance of using one's assets for the glory of God and for the benefit of the underserved (p. 295). In developing this concept, Wesley points to the mandate from Matthew 25 to provide food for the hungry, clothing for the naked, comfort for the afflicted, and assistance for the strangers. Furthermore, in his sermon entitled "The More Excellent Way," Wesley (1986) Wesley takes an outward facing posture with regards to finances and possessions. He argues that a Christian should be extravagantly generous with the assets God has bestowed. These are tools to be used first for the care of the individual and his or her family but secondly—and importantly—for others (p. 275).

THE MODERN INTERPRETATION

Keck (2002) understands Paul's work as important for sustaining his ministry and being able to offer the gospel in the same way that God offers grace, freely. Paul was part of a trade guild, which offered him a social network as well as financial gain (p. 253). Paul spent more time engaged in his trade than he did in preaching in the marketplaces, and Paul fully integrates his trade into his ministry. Based upon passages from 1 Corinthians (4:12), 1 Thessalonians (2:9), and 2 Thessalonians (3:6-8), Keck says that there was value in Paul's being gainfully employed and working with his hands. However, Keck asserts that Paul did not consider his labor "essential to his missionary strategy" (pp. 251, 256). Modern interpretations assert that as Paul's ministry developed, he could not continue to maintain both responsibilities. His preference was clear. As recorded in Acts (18:5) records, "[Paul] devoted himself exclusively to preaching." For this reason, Keck argues that "congregations should carefully consider whether bivocationalism should be a permanent arrangement or whether they should support a full-time ministry as soon as they are able" (p. 256).

Barth (2004) views Paul's work as insignificant to his life and ministry, work done on the "margin of his apostolic existence" and the "fringe of his apostolic instruction" (p. 472). Barth says that the Protestant understanding of work has been overly influenced by Western economic theory, and, in a sense, is an overcorrection from the lax, self-serving priestly abuses that occurred prior to the Reformation (p. 473). While Barth does not degrade work, he argues that work is not the core purpose of human existence. Certainly, God does not intend for humanity to be lazy or vegetative. However, God requires more than just productivity, profit, or work (p. 470). Work is not an end in

and of itself and should not be practiced frenetically. For this reason, Barth contrasts secular understanding of “work” with the "active life," which encompasses both work and other acts of love, compassion, and generosity. From a biblical perspective, Barth argues that Jesus often calls individuals away from secular work to a form of spiritual ministry. Barth goes on to say that even if Jesus was a carpenter (τέκτων), Jesus did not continue to practice his secular profession after beginning his active ministry.

Barrett (2004) indicates that Barth likely underestimates the significance of Paul’s vocational work, and that the author of Acts gives importance to “Paul’s readiness to work” (p. 864). Later, in Acts 20.33-34, Paul says, “I coveted no one’s silver or gold or clothing. You know for yourselves that I worked with my own hands to support myself and my companions.” In this passage (v. 35), Paul points to his vocational activity as a model for others. For this reason, Barrett (2004) says that Paul’s vocation was his “manner of life” and an “example for future generations of ministers” (p. 864).

Across all time periods, commentators generally note the virtue of preserving sacred practices and sacred spaces. Elements such a greed and selfishness are vices that can distract from the proper worship of God. Commentators generally agree that productivity is beneficial and that selfish gain is to be avoided.

APPENDIX E:

GENERAL MOTIVATIONS FOR CONGREGATIONAL SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURS

Congregational social entrepreneurs express general motivations from both supply-side and demand-side perspectives. As indicated in Chapter 4, supply-side theory of the nonprofit sector suggests that the primary rationale for activity within voluntary associations is related to a supply of resources and the desire to provide services, express ideologies, and/or engage in other activities with non-monetary returns (Anheier, 2014, p. 210). In an edited volume, Frumkin explains:

> [T]he [nonprofit] sector is impelled by the resources and ideas that flow into it. . . . [T]he supply-side perspective holds that nonprofit and voluntary organizations are really all about the people with resources and commitment who fire the engine of nonprofit and voluntary action" (Ott & Dicke, 2012, p. 25).

Just as the free market requires entrepreneurs who seek out opportunity in business (Anheier, 2014, p. 209), the nonprofit sector requires a supply of "social entrepreneurs"—like Carnegie and Rockefeller—with resources and ideas who seek out the opportunity to create social value based upon passion, innovation, and bold action (James, 1987; Rose-Ackerman, 1996; Salamon & Anheier, 1998). John Stewart Mill suggests that the notion of individual expression provides the rationale for why nonprofits continue to operate even when government begins to provide services in a given arena (Salamon, 2012, p. 20).[131] General supply-side motivations include the resources that a

[131] Critics of supply-side theory say that the theory does not 1) account for the nonprofit organizations that do not have underlying values as part of their mission, 2) differentiate between religious and secular motivations, or 3) exclusively explain the nonprofit sector, since "entrepreneurs" are also found in free markets (Anheier, 2014, p. 210).

congregation possesses, while the leading motivations are related to the expression of values and beliefs.

From a supply-side perspective, congregational leaders are generally motivated by an abundance of resources ranging from skilled volunteers and finances to property. I Volunteers are often necessary to generate commitment in the congregation for a social enterprise. As one lay leader says, "[Our pastor] was smart enough or God gave him common sense enough to know that others have to engage with a sense of purpose, or something is not going to happen. That was the genesis of [the social enterprise]. . . ." Congregational leaders may bring passion to the social enterprise and unique skills that benefit it. Some congregational leaders are artisans, interior designers, chefs, entrepreneurs, and business executives. Congregational social entrepreneurship allows these leaders opportunities to explore their passions and use their skills for the benefit of their congregation and their community. As one lay leader says, "We have someone who is just amazing at decorating and displaying. . . . Again, we have people who just have this gift of putting things together. . . ." The two common attributes that these volunteers have in common is a dedication to the congregation and a dedication to the social enterprise. In one instance, the dedication of a lay leader was so strong that his family moved across the country to help launch a congregational social enterprise with his clergy leader.

In some cases, a congregation may have access to abundant financial resources, an asset that serves as a motivating factor for a leader to establish a congregational social enterprise. In one case, a lay leader possessed significant financial resources. A philanthropist in his own right, the lay leader once asked his clergy leader:

> What if you wind up in a big church, which you have, and what if there is a member of your congregation with deep pockets who says to you what I'm saying now? 'What do you want to do, [Pastor]? What do you want to do now? [My pastor] looked like a deer in a headlight. It wasn't a fair question, but I wanted to pose it to him.

In this case, the wealthy lay leader wanted to give his clergy leader the ability to dream and start something new. The financial resources that the lay leader provided were used to establish a congregational social enterprise.

In other cases, the financial resources may not come from a single individual but instead from a collective group of people. Some congregational leaders describe their congregation's budget as having additional funds that are intentionally earmarked or are raised independently so that the congregation can support innovative and entrepreneurial projects. In one case, a lay leader describes her congregation giving between $15,000 and $20,000 to establish the congregational social enterprise and fund some of the initial inventory needed for the enterprise's launch. In this way, the presence of financial resources serves as a motivating factor for the establishment of a congregational social enterprise.

Property also serves as an asset which can generally motivate leaders to establish a congregational social enterprise. Many congregational leaders understand their property as a significant resource for their congregation and describe their congregation's property as being a gift from God. As one clergy leader says, "We believe that God gave us this land, this property. We believe that." Therefore, congregational leaders desire to be good stewards of the property that God has given their congregation. In many cases, a congregation may possess long held property that has appreciated in value. For some historic congregations, the ownership of the land may stretch back hundreds of years. In

some cases, the congregation may have acquired now valuable property when the surrounding neighborhood was dangerous or rural, or when the land was inexpensive. In some urban settings where land is scarce, leaders indicate that the congregation's property may be the last, undeveloped land in the area. As a result, congregational leadership may choose to develop the land independently, or they may be approached by an outside party interested in developing the property.

This was the case described by one lay leader whose congregation's property was some of the last undeveloped land in an expensive, densely populated urban center. The congregation was approached by third party developers, whose offer gave the congregation motivation and means to develop a social enterprise. The lay leader explains:

> [The developers wanted] to build condominiums because you know the church is in the middle of the high-rise condominium market. . . [T]he pressure of just holding out a vacant lot on [our major street became] . . . more and more impractical over time. It's amazing the pressure of the development around you. You know you've got high rises on every other site. Literally we're the only parking lot on [our street] that I can think of in that two-block area. So, there's just that tremendous pressure from the availability of opportunities to build.

In urban settings, the ownership of property may often come with air rights, which are also highly valuable and may be part of the congregation's resources which serve as a motivation to establish a congregational social enterprise.

At times, congregational leaders indicate that they are motivated by a desire to preserve their property, control their neighbors, or to utilize their property more effectively. Some congregational leaders are interested in acquiring, developing, or selling property to be able to control the types of businesses or other development that takes place in their area. In one instance, the congregational leadership purchased a small

strip mall and intentionally rented the congregation's commercial real estate to businesses that would complement the congregation and improve the surrounding area. This idea of controlling the type of environment around a congregation was repeated in at least two cases. One clergy leader says:

> The church at two critical junctions had to decide to stay here, and they did. . . . During those years we picked up some land pretty cheaply. And then we held it until we had opportunities to secure our neighbors. . . . This is kind of a pattern for us. We sold land that is the post office. So, we just bought land kind of cheap when it was depressed [and] sold it out [to] kind of control our neighbors.

At other times, congregational leaders discuss the motivation for their social enterprise by describing the financial burden for upkeep of their property or large historic buildings. The social enterprise may offset the cost of ongoing maintenance and capital improvements for the congregation's physical plant. Eliminating or decreasing the financial burden of the facility on the congregation's membership frees the congregation from ongoing financial liabilities and allows the congregation's leadership to focus on other areas of ministry.

In some instances, a congregation may possess a property that is underutilized or dilapidated, and congregational leaders are motivated to see the facility be utilized more effectively or to be aesthetically improved. Here, the leader's motivation is to maximize the facility for ministry throughout the week and improve the community's perception of the congregation. In some congregations, the facility may be fully utilized only once-a-week during its worship time and sit empty the remainder of the week. One lay leader describes his clergy leader's perspective about the construction of the social enterprise:

> Through all of that, you know, just multiple conversations with [the pastor], he was adamant. He was not going to build a church building just

> to build a church building. It wasn't going to be a facility that sat empty [throughout the week].

Although the concern in this instance was for the congregation's whole facility, other congregational leaders express concern about a portion of the facility being underutilized. As one lay leader says, "We have a space in our basement area that is kind of underutilized that has a kitchen attached to it. So, it just was kind of [the clergy leader's] dream [to start a coffee shop]." In another case, a clergy leader says:

> [W]e have this room that is an old fellowship hall. It's not big enough for a fellowship hall. It hasn't been upgraded in forever. . . . We could really use it a lot more if we made it some kind of an opening to the community.

Beside utilizing space more effectively, congregational leaders may also desire to transform a dilapidated area into a more valuable asset. As one lay leader says:

> Success for us was taking an asset in an unattractive asphalt parking lot, cracked and worn out, taking that and turning it into a very attractive building with very nice parking, clean and safe which has accommodated all of our needs, and generating hundreds of thousands of dollars a year for facility maintenance and for the operating budget.

Therefore, the motivation for congregational social enterprise can be to improve the congregation's facility or to use it more effectively. In this way, general supply-side motivations relate to the resources that a congregation possesses.[132]

GENERAL MOTIVATIONS: DEMAND

There are two types of demands that congregational leaders reference when discussing their motivations for congregational social enterprises: needs of the congregation and needs of the community. While the needs of the congregation fall under general motivations, the needs of the community fall under the leading motivation

[132] Expressive supply-side motivations are covered in Chapter 4 under the heading "leading motivations."

category (what I have referenced previously as *Bettering the Community*). Some congregational leaders are motivated by a need they perceive within their congregation for change or growth. Some leaders say they feel that their congregation has become stagnant or is declining. Accordingly, some leaders indicate that the establishment of a social enterprise is designed to re-energize or resurrect the congregation. Discussing his motivation for establishing a congregational social enterprise, one clergy leader says, "So, a guy in our congregation really felt to get our congregation off their rear end, that we need a building project. . . . That started the conversation."

The reason that a congregation might need to be reenergized is because of decreasing membership and declining worship attendance. In one case, a congregation had been declining in membership for decades. Denominational representatives and consultants had long indicated that the church needed to close because of the lack of financial resources and membership. However, motivated by the needs within the congregation, the clergy leader began to explore how the congregation might use the church's large facility to meet these demands. By renting co-working spaces for entrepreneurial nonprofit and business leaders, by establishing a charter school in the congregation's education wing, and by renting other spaces in the congregation's facility to artists and community nonprofits, the congregation was able to meet its basic financial commitments. Additionally, the clergy leader indicates that during the process that the congregation's membership began to grow, as the congregation was more connected to its community. In another case, a clergy leader says that the motivation behind his congregation's pursuit of social enterprise is that his congregation was on life support.

The pursuit of social enterprise in this setting is designed to resurrect a dying congregation. The clergy leader says:

> [We are] just trying to figure out . . . can we—with the power of God—turn around that fifty-year-old church that has been in decline for 20 years. . . Even in the midst of the decline, God [is] still active and doing things through the church in the community. I don't think God was ready for all of it to die. We do really see it as a resurrection of the church.

In some cases, the establishment of a congregational social enterprise does in fact lead to growth in the congregation, if not in terms of numerical growth, then growth in terms of the health, flexibility, and willingness of the existing congregation to try new things. As one lay leader says, "[The social enterprise] helped bring the church to a growing church, a vibrant church willing to do other things."

In one case, the motivation for the establishment of the social enterprise was specifically a need that the congregation had to be able to offer parking for its historic ministries and programs. Because of the development of a popular tourist attraction near the congregation's location, visitors to the town were using the congregation's parking lot. However, tensions developed when the congregation would try to reserve the parking lot for weddings, funerals, and other occasions. Even during these times, the tourists would use the parking lot anyway. The congregation even tried to chain off the parking lot, but some tourists used bolt cutters to break the chain and use the parking lot. As a result, the leadership of the congregation established a social enterprise that allows them to control access to parking. As the clergy leader says:

> We lost our parking lot. We had a funeral here, and we had a difficult time getting people to [the] funeral. You know you can't schedule deaths. That's still against the law in America. . . . You can't put that on a calendar. Those things we just have to be able to hold loosely in our hands. So that was [the moment when we decided we've] got to do something different. The status quo cannot prevail. . . . This is not like we

> are sharing the gospel with the great lost world or something. . . . [It] came to a point that, you know, we[‘ve] got to get people in here for funerals. That matters to God. We’ve got to make sure we can get our weddings handled. [We‘ve] got to be able to get people in here for graduation ceremonies and parent’s day out graduation and all [these] kind of things.

The leader of this congregation decided to hire a parking lot attendant and charge visitors for parking. In this way, general motivations for congregational social enterprise relate to the needs of the congregation, which can include a need for financial or cultural growth or other practical needs within the congregation such as parking.

APPENDIX F:

PROPOSED SURVEY FOR

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

General Questions:

Congregation Name:_____

Gender (*Circle One*): Male | Female | Prefer not to Answer

Age Range (*Circle One*): 18-29 | 30-39 | 40-49 | 50-59 | 60+ | Prefer not to Answer

Race/Ethnicity: _____

In your congregation, are you a paid employee, volunteer, or other?
_____

Are you ordained or credentialed in your religious tradition? (*Circle One*) Yes | No

What is your highest level of educational attainment?
_____

Do you have formal education or past experience in business or entrepreneurship? If so, please describe.
_____
_____
_____

Were either of your parents entrepreneurs? _____

On average, about how many total people attend your congregation for worship each week?
_____

Roughly, what is the size of your congregation's annual operating budget?
_____

In what year was your congregation's primary social enterprise first established?

In what year did you first become involved with your congregation's primary social enterprise?

Where is your congregation's primary social enterprise located (on campus, off campus, or other)?

Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire—Form XII Self (1962)

INSTRUCTIONS:
a. READ each item carefully.
b. THINK about how frequently you engage in the behavior described.
d. DRAW A CIRCLE around one of the seven numbers to reflect your decision, where 1 indicates always, 4 indicates occasionally, and 7 indicates never.

Example: I publicize the activities of the group

1 2 3 (4) 5
Always **Occasionally** **Never**

I let group members know what is expected of them. 1 2 3 4 5
I am friendly and approachable. 1 2 3 4 5
I encourage the use of uniform procedures. 1 2 3 4 5
I do little things to make it pleasant to be a member of the group. 1 2 3 4 5
I try out my ideas in the group. 1 2 3 4 5
I put suggestions made by the group into operation. 1 2 3 4 5
I make my attitudes clear to the group. 1 2 3 4 5
I treat all group members as my equals. 1 2 3 4 5
I decide what shall be done and how it shall be done. 1 2 3 4 5
I give advance notice of changes. 1 2 3 4 5
I assign group members to particular tasks. 1 2 3 4 5
I keep to myself. 1 2 3 4 5
I make sure that my part in the group is understood by the group members. 1 2 3 4 5
I look out for the personal welfare of group members. 1 2 3 4 5
I schedule the work to be done. 1 2 3 4 5
I am willing to make changes. 1 2 3 4 5

I maintain definite standards of performance.				
1	2	3	4	5
I refuse to explain my actions.				
1	2	3	4	5
I ask that group members to follow standard rules and regulations.				
1	2	3	4	5
I act without consulting the group.				
1	2	3	4	5

Adapted from Stewart, Castrogiovanni, & Hudson (2016)
First proposed by Covin & Slevin (1989)

In general, I have a . . .		
A strong proclivity for low-risk projects (with normal and certain rates of financial return)	1 2 3 4 5	A strong proclivity for high-risk projects (with chances of very high financial returns)
In general, I believe that . . .		
Owing to the nature of the environment of congregations, it is best to explore it gradually via cautious incremental behavior	1 2 3 4 5	Owing to the nature of the environment of congregations, bold, wide-ranging acts are necessary to achieve the congregation's objectives
When confronted with decision-making situations involving uncertainty, I . . .		
Typically adopt a cautious, "wait-and see" posture in order to minimize the probability of making costly decisions	1 2 3 4 5	Typically adopt a bold, aggressive posture in order to maximize the probability of exploiting potential opportunities
In general, I favor . . .		
Strong emphasis on the adoption and offering of true and tried ideas, techniques, and services and the avoidance of heavy research and development costs	1 2 3 4 5	Strong emphasis on research and development, and offering new ideas, techniques, and services
How many new ideas have you proposed to your congregation in the past five years?		
No new ideas, techniques, or services in the past 5 years	1 2 3 4 5	Many new ideas, techniques, or services in the past 5 years

Changes in ideas, techniques, or services have been mostly of a minor nature	1 2 3 4 5	Changes in ideas, techniques, or services have usually been dramatic
In dealing with other congregations which could be considered competitors, I . . .		
Typically respond to actions which competitors initiate	1 2 3 4 5	Typically initiate actions to which competitors then respond
am very seldom the first person to introduce new ideas, techniques, services, operating procedures, or administrative techniques, etc.	1 2 3 4 5	am very often the first person to introduce new ideas, techniques, services, operating procedures, or administrative techniques, etc.

Adapted from Murnieks et al (2014)
Based on Stryker and Serpre (1982, 1994)

What one activity or identity would you use to introduce yourself to someone at a party?		
What one activity or identity would you use to introduce yourself when giving a speech about yourself to a class at a local college?		
Which of the two identities (above) are most important to you?		
In an average week, I spend. . .		
Almost all of my time in social entrepreneurship	1 2 3 4 5	Almost all of my time in ministry
For me, social entrepreneurship is a form of ministry.		
Yes	No	Other (please explain):

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Werber, L., Mendel, P. J., & Derose, K. P. (2014). Social Entrepreneurship in Religious Congregations' Efforts to Address Health Needs. *American Journal of Health Promotion : AJHP*, *28*(4), 231–238. https://doi.org/10.4278/ajhp.110516-QUAL-200

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Wilhelm, M. O., Rooney, P., & Tempel, E. R. (2007). Changes in religious giving reflect changes in involvement: age and cohort effects in religious giving, secular giving, and attendance. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, *46*(2), 217–232.

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Wilson, F., & Post, J. E. (2013). Business models for people, planet (& profits): exploring the phenomena of social business, a market-based approach to social value creation. *Small Business Economics*, *40*(3), 715–737.

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Worthy, J. C. (1987). *William C. Norris: Portrait of a Maverick*. Ballinger Publishing Co.

Wuthnow, R. (1990). *The Restructuring of American Religion* (Reprint edition). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Yerkes, R. K. (2010). *Sacrifice in Greek and Roman religions and early Judaism*. Wipf and Stock Publishers.

Young, D. R. (1983). *If Not for Profit, for What?* Retrieved from http://scholarworks.gsu.edu/facbooks2013/1/?utm_source=digitalarchive.gsu.edu%2Ffacbooks2013%2F1&utm_medium=PDF&utm_campaign=PDFCoverPages

Young, D. R. (1986). Entrepreneurship and the Behavior of Nonprofit Organizations: Elements of a Theory. In S. Rose-Ackerman, *The Economics of Non Profit Institutions: Studies in Structure and Policy*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Young, D. R. (2001). Organizational Identity in Nonprofit Organizations: Strategic and Structural Implications. *Nonprofit Management & Leadership*, *12*(2), 139.

Zahra, S. A., Gedajlovic, E., Neubaum, D. O., & Shulman, J. M. (2009). A typology of social entrepreneurs: Motives, search processes and ethical challenges. *Journal of Business Venturing*, *24*(5), 519–532.

Curriculum Vitae

Thad S. Austin

EDUCATION

Indiana University Indianapolis, IN 2015-2019
Ph.D. in Philanthropic Studies
Minor: Individualized-Higher Education Administration and Student Affairs
GPA: 4.0
Dissertation: Social Entrepreneurship Among Protestant American Congregations: The Role, Theology, Motivations, and Experiences of Lay and Clergy Leaders
Advisor: David P. King, Ph.D.

Certificates
Executive Certificate in Religious Fundraising, Lake Institute on Faith and Giving, Indiana University (2016)
Principles and Practices of Fundraising Certificate, The Fund Raising School, Indiana University (2015)

Asbury Theological Seminary Wilmore, KY 2006-2010
Master of Divinity
Honors: Frank B. Stanger Excellence in Preaching Award
Theta Phi National Honor Society for Theological Studies

Asbury University Wilmore, KY 2003-2006
Bachelor of Arts in Bible and Theology, Magna Cum Laude
Minor: Spanish
Honor: Award for Bible and Theology Department Top Graduate

ADDITIONAL STUDIES

Wesley Theological Seminary Washington, D.C. 2009

Oxford University Oxford, England 2006

EMPLOYMENT

Duke University Durham, NC 2019-Present
Senior Director of United Methodist Engagement and Lifelong Learning

Indiana University Indianapolis, IN 2017-2018
Adjunct Faculty

Lake Institute on Faith & Giving Indianapolis, IN 2015-Present
Adjunct Faculty

First United Methodist Church Murfreesboro, TN 2012-2015
Executive Pastor

First United Methodist Church Murfreesboro, TN 2010-2012
Pastor of Congregational Care

ACADEMIC TEACHING EXPERIENCE

2018 Indiana University's Lilly Family School of Philanthropy. Giving and Volunteering in America (Online)
2018 North Park University. Fundraising and Stewardship Seminar.
2017 Indiana University's Lilly Family School of Philanthropy. Giving and Volunteering in America (Online).
2017 Indiana University's Lilly Family School of Philanthropy. Religion and Philanthropy (Teaching Assistant).
2016 Indiana University's Lake Institute Continuing Education: Creating Congregational Cultures of Generosity.
2016 Indiana University's Lilly Family School of Philanthropy. Ethical, Moral, and Religious Aspects of Philanthropy (Teaching Assistant).

ACADEMIC COMMITTEES

2018-Present Chairman, Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches, Association of Statisticians of American Religious Bodies
2016-2018 Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches, Association of Statisticians of American Religious Bodies
2016-2017 Indiana University Lilly Family School of Philanthropy Academic Programs Committee

ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS

Austin, T., & Williams, A. (2018). Giving to Religion. In *Giving USA*. Indianapolis, IN: Giving USA Foundation.

Austin, T. (2018). Book Review: Catholic Parishes in the 21st Century. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly.* Vol 47, Issue 4.

Austin, T. (2018). "A Prelude to Civil War: The Religious Nonprofit Sector as a Civil Means of Debate over Slavery, Christian Higher Education, and Religious Philanthropy in the Stone-Campbell Movement." *Religions: An Academic Journal of Theology*.

Austin, T. (2017). *Giving USA Special Report: Giving to Religion*. Indianapolis, IN: Giving USA Foundation.

Austin, T. (2017). Religious Affiliation and Engagement Remain Vital. Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Lake Institute on Faith and Giving.

King, D., Jeavons, T., Austin, T. (2017). Fundraising as Profession and Vocation: An Inquiry About Faith and the Practice of Fundraising. Verona, WI: Association of Lutheran Development Executives.

King, D. & Austin, T. (2017). Religious Giving Holds Steady. Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Lake Institute on Faith and Giving.

Austin, T., & O'Connor, H. (2017). Giving to Religion. In *Giving USA*. Indianapolis, IN: Giving USA Foundation.

Austin, T., & Clark, R. (2016). Giving to Religion. In *Giving USA*. Indianapolis, IN: Giving USA Foundation.

Steensland, B., & Austin, T. (2016). *Estimates for Religious Giving in Giving USA: Review and Recommendations*. Indianapolis, IN: Giving USA Foundation.

Austin, T. (2016). *New Philanthropic Panel Study Report: Religion as a Destination and a Motivation*. Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Lake Institute on Faith and Giving.

ACADEMIC CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

Austin, T. and King, D., Hemphill, A., and Fulton, B. (2018). Defining and Estimating the Scope of Faith-Based Domestic and International Humanitarian Aid Organizations: A Preliminary Examination of International Affairs Organizations. Presented at the International Society of Third Sector Research, Amsterdam, Netherlands.

O'Connor, H., Austin, T., Goodwin, J. (2018). Effects of Working as Team vs. Alone on the Fundraiser Experience. Presented at the International Society of Third Sector Research, Amsterdam, Netherlands.

Austin, T. (2018). American Religious Tentmaking. Presented at the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion in Las Vegas, NV.

Austin, T. and King, D., Hemphill, A., and Fulton, B. (2018). Identity and Activity of Nonprofit Humanitarian Organizations: Defining and Estimating the Reach of Religious Affiliation in America and Abroad. Presented at the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action, Austin, TX.

Austin, T. and King, D., Hemphill, A., and Fulton, B. (2018). The Power of Faith-Based Humanitarianism: Defining and Estimating the Size and Scope of Religiously Affiliated Domestic and International Affairs Organizations. Presented at the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion in Las Vegas, NV.

Austin, T. (2018). Social Entrepreneurship Among Protestant Congregations: The Role of Lay and Clergy Leadership. Presented at the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action Dissertation Fellowship Seminar, Austin, TX.

O'Connor, H., Austin, T., Goodwin, J. (2017). Are Two Heads Better Than One? Effects of Working as a Team vs. Alone on Fundraising Effectiveness and Fundraiser Satisfaction. Presented at the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action, Grand Rapids, MI.

Rooney, P. King, D., Austin, T., Wang, X. (2017). A Longitudinal Study of Generosity Measured by Religious Intensity and Identification on Congregational, Non-Congregational, and Total Giving: 2003-2013. Presented at the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action, Grand Rapids, MI.

King, D. Jeavons, T., Austin, T. (2017). Fundraising as Profession and Vocation: An Inquiry about Faith and the Practice of Fundraising. Presented at the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action, Grand Rapids, MI.

Austin, T. (2017). A Prelude to Civil War: Indiana Abolitionists' Contribution to Debates over Slavery, Higher Education, and Religious Philanthropy. Presented at the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action, Grand Rapids, MI.

Austin, T. (2017). Advocate or Oppressor? J.B. Lehman, A White President of a Black College. Presented at the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action, Grand Rapids, MI.

Austin, T. (2017). Butler University: A Refuge of Abolition in Indiana. In *New Social Histories of the 19th-Century United States*. Ball State University Muncee, IN.

King, D., Rooney, P., Austin, T., & Wang, X. (2016). The Current State of Giving to Houses of Worship. Presented at the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action, Washington, DC.

Rooney, P., King, D., Wang, X., & Austin, T. (2016). A Longitudinal Study of Giving to Houses of Worship. Presented at the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action, Washington, DC.

King, D., & Austin, T. (2016). Tracking Religious Giving. Presented at the Association of Statisticians of American Religious Bodies, Baylor University, Waco, TX.

Austin, T. (2016). Butler University: A Refuge of Abolition in Indiana. Presented at the Indiana University Hoosier Philanthropy Conference. Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, IN.

ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS UNDER REVIEW

King, D., Rooney, P., Austin, T., & Wang, X. (2018). The Current State of Giving to Houses of Worship.

Rooney, P., King, D., Wang, X., & Austin, T. (2018). A Longitudinal Study of Giving to Houses of Worship.

ACADEMIC JOURNAL REVIEWER

Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly
Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations
Education Sciences
Journal on Muslim Philanthropy and Civil Society

PUBLIC MEDIA COVERAGE OF RESEARCH

Jacoby, J. (2019). A less religious America will be a less generous America. Boston Globe.

Banks, A. M. (2017). Strong link found between worship attendance and religious giving. Religion News Service. *This article was re-published by The Houston Chronicle, The Salt Lake Tribune, Colorado Springs Gazette, Crux, and the Deseret News*

Joslyn, H. (2017). Religious Donors Who Attend Services Frequently Give More, Study Says. The Chronicle of Philanthropy.

Moll, R. (2017). The Republican tax plan will make it more expensive to donate to your church. The Washington Post.

Evans Consulting Group. (2017). Report offers New Perspectives on Giving to Religion; Jewish Giving to Synagogues Appears Strong. eJewish Philanthropy.

Richardson, B. (2017). Religious people more likely to give to charity, study shows. The Washington Times.
Malado, J. (2017). People who attend church regularly are more likely to donate to charities, study finds. The Christian Times.
Nissim, H. S. B. (2017). American Jews and Charitable Giving: An Enduring Tradition. The Conversation.
Duke Divinity School. (2017). Start a conversation about giving, Faith and Leadership.
Tithe.ly. (2017) 5 Key Takeaways for Church Leaders from the Giving USA Special Report.
Tapscott, M. (2017). Surprised? Data Shows Faithful Are Most Generous. The Daily Caller.
Hughes, B. M. (2017). Study Finds Religious People Are More Likely to Give to Charity. mrcTV.
CathNews New Zealand. (2017). Church Attendance Influences Donations, Generosity.
Philanthropy Daily. (2017). New report finds religious people are more likely to donate.
Cohen, T. (2017). Nonprofit news roundup. Philanthropy North Carolina.
Moore, A. (2017). Bold Predictions for Church Giving in 2018. Givelify.

SELECTED SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS

2019	"Trust, Generosity, and Fundraising." Invited Leadership Roundtable seminar presentation for the Catholic Archdiocese of Hartford. Hartford, CT.
2019	"Religious Fundraising: Theology, Tools, and Culture Change." Invited Multi-hour interactive seminar presentation for North Park Seminary, Chicago, IL.
2018	"Establishing Cultures of Generosity." Invited multi-day seminar for WesPath Benefits and Investments (formerly the United Methodist Board of Pension and Health Benefits) national RevItUp! Conference for young clergy, Pensacola, FL.
2018	"Trust, Generosity, and Fundraising." Invited Leadership Roundtable seminar presentation for the Catholic Archdiocese of Lafayette. Lafayette, IN.
2018	"Giving and Discipleship." Invited, multi-session seminar for the Minnesota Annual Conference of the United Methodist Church, St. Cloud, MN.
2018	"The Power of Faith and Giving." Invited, multi-session seminar for the Dakotas Annual Conference of the United Methodist Church, Sioux Falls, SD.
2018	"Religious Fundraising in the 21st Century." Invited seminar presentation for the Episcopal Diocese of Indianapolis, Indianapolis, IN.
2018	"Stewardship: Theological Perspectives and Fundraising Tools." Invited Leadership Roundtable seminar presentation for the Catholic Archdiocese of Newark, Seton Hall University, South Orange, NJ.
2018	"Pastoral Theology and Fundraising." Invited Lecture for Dakota

Wesleyan University, Mitchell, South Dakota.

2018 "Religious Fundraising: Theology, Tools, and Culture Change." Invited Multi-hour interactive seminar presentation for North Park Seminary, Chicago, IL.

2018 "America, Religion, and Philanthropy." Invited lecture at Indiana University's Culture and Philanthropy Class (PHST-P 527), Indianapolis, IN.

2017 "Establishing Cultures of Generosity." Invited multi-day seminar for WesPath Benefits and Investments (formerly the United Methodist Board of Pension and Health Benefits) national RevItUp! Conference for young clergy, Pensacola, FL.

2017 "Creating Congregational Cultures of Generosity." Invited lectures for the Memphis Conference of the United Methodist Church with Lake Institute's Creating Congregational Cultures of Generosity, Paducah, KY.

2017 "Creating Congregational Cultures of Generosity." Invited lectures for the Memphis Conference of the United Methodist Church with Lake Institute's Creating Congregational Cultures of Generosity, Jackson, TN.

2016 "Creating Cultures of Generosity through Preaching." Invited lecture at the Academy of Young Preachers, Lexington, KY.

2016 "Researching American Congregations." Invited lecture the Association of Statisticians of American Religious Bodies National Conference, Baylor University, Waco, TX

2016 "Generosity and Faith Based Fundraising." Invited lecture at The Church Network, Indianapolis, IN.

2016 "How to Publish." Invited lecture at Asbury Seminary's Doctor of Ministry Intensive, Wilmore, KY.

2016 "Generational Giving." Invited lecture at the United Methodist Foundation for the Tennessee and Memphis Conferences in Conjunction with Lake Institute's Creating Congregational Cultures of Generosity, Nashville, TN.

2016 "Hospitality and Church Administration." Invited lecture at St. Luke's United Methodist Church, Indianapolis, IN.

2016 "*Giving USA*: Insights from Research." Invited lecture at the Indiana University Lake Institute on Faith and Giving Advisory Board Meeting, Indianapolis, IN.

2016 "*Giving USA*: Insights from Research." Invited lecture at the Indiana University Lilly Family School of Philanthropy Board of Visitors Meeting, Indianapolis, IN.

2015 "The Town of Jesus." Lecture with the Jerusalem Center for Biblical Studies, Israel.

2009 "The Grand Narrative." Invited lecture at First United Methodist Church, Murfreesboro, TN.

2008 "When God Moves Amongst Us." Invited lecture at Gordon Conwell Theological Seminary, South Hamilton, MA.

2006 "An Encounter with Revival." Invited lecture at Harvard College, Cambridge, MA.
2006 "Philosophy of Religion." Invited lecture at John Hampden School, High Wycombe, England.
2006 "Philosophy of Religion." Invited lecture at Wycombe High School, High Wycombe, England.

HONORS AND AWARDS

2019 William M. Plater Civic Engagement Medallion, Indiana University
2019 Indiana University Elite 50 Award
2018 Nu Lambda Mu International Honor Society, Nonprofit Academic Centers Council
2018 Lake Institute Dissertation Research Award, Indiana University
2017 Comprehensive Exams Passed with Distinction, Lilly Family School of Philanthropy, Indiana University
2017 Dissertation Fellowship, Association for the Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action (ARNOVA)
2017-2018 William and Edie Enright Fellowship in Philanthropic Studies, Indiana University Lilly Family School of Philanthropy
2017 National Emerging Scholar Award, Association for the Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action (ARNOVA)
2016-2017 William and Edie Enright Fellowship in Philanthropic Studies, Indiana University Lilly Family School of Philanthropy
2016 Chancellor's Red Ribbon Honoree, Indiana University-Purdue University Chancellor's State of the Campus Address
2016 Conference Scholarship Award Association for the Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action (ARNOVA)
2015-2016 William and Edie Enright Fellowship in Philanthropic Studies, Indiana University Lilly Family School of Philanthropy
2011 Guest Chaplain, United States Senate--Youngest Person in American History to Open U.S. Senate with Prayer
2010 Frank B. Stanger Excellence in Preaching Award, Asbury Theological Seminary
2009 National Capital Seminar for Seminarians (NCSS), Wesley Theological Seminary, Washington, DC
2009 Commissioned by Governor of Kentucky as a Member of the Honorable Order of Kentucky Colonels
2006 Council for Christian Colleges and Universities, Selected Amongst Young American Scholars to Study at Oxford University
2006 The Lilly Endowment's Lilly Ministry Scholarship
2006 Top Graduate, Asbury University Bible and Theology Department
2005 The Lilly Endowment's Lilly Ministry Scholarship
2004 The Lilly Endowment's Lilly Ministry Scholarship